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STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF WORLD COMMUNISM

RECRUITING FOR ESPIONAGE

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

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STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF WORLD COMMUNISM

WEDNESDAY, JULY 13, 1955

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION
OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER
INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS OF THE
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:40 a. m., in the Caucus Room, Senate Office Building, Senator James O. Eastland (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Eastland and Hennings.

Also present: J. G. Sourwine, chief counsel; Alva C. Carpenter, associate counsel; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; Robert McManus, investigations analyst.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. Call the first witness.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, before we call a witness I should like to offer for the record documents which will tie in with testimony previously had. The documents will speak for themselves. I will identify them by saying that the chairman wrote to the Department of Defense requesting release of the exchange of correspondence with respect to a recommendation for disaccreditation of Mr. Grutzner, and the objection to that recommendation by the Defense Department. The documents were furnished the committee first in classified status, and the chairman then requested that they be declassified. That has now been done. And I believe the documents should be made a part of the record with the pertinent correspondence.

The CHAIRMAN. They will be admitted.

(The documents referred to are as follows:)

JULY 8, 1955.

Mr. C. HERSCHEL SCHOOLEY,
Office of Public Information, Department of Defense,
Room 2E800, The Pentagon, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SCHOOLEY: Thank you very much for forwarding with your letter of July 8, 1955, the documentation of the chronological account contained therein.

I should like to request that the letters by General Craigie, General Bush, and General Parks, which you point out continue in confidential status, be declassified for use by the committee, so that they may be inserted in our record. I should be extremely grateful if action on this request could be expedited.

Kindest regards and all good wishes.

Sincerely,

JAMES O. EASTLAND,
Chairman, Internal Security Subcommittee.

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE,
OFFICE OF PUBLIC INFORMATION,
Washington, D. C., July 12, 1955.

Hon. JAMES O. EASTLAND,
United States Senate.

DEAR SENATOR EASTLAND: Pursuant to your letter request of July 8, the letters by Maj. Gen. L. C. Craigie, United States Air Force; Brig. Gen. K. B. Bush, United States Army; and Maj. Gen. F. L. Parks, United States Army, which were included in confidential status with my letter of July 8, have now been formally declassified for use by the Internal Security Subcommittee, for open use or record publication.

We enclose newly photostated copies of the letters concerned in order to provide your committee with the unclassified versions.

Sincerely yours,

C. HERSCHEL SCHOOLEY, *Director.*

HEADQUARTERS, FAR EAST AIR FORCES,
APO 925, December 19, 1950.

Subject: Security Violation by Press Correspondent.
To : Commander in Chief, Far East, APO 500.

1. On December 17, 1950, New York Times' representative in Korea, Charles Grutzner, filed with his publishers an account of the first encounter of USAF F-86 jet aircraft with MIG-15 aircraft.

2. All correspondents in Korea at the base from which the F-86's were operating, including Mr. Grutzner, had been briefed on the security precautions this headquarters had taken concerning the activities of the F-86. It appears that Mr. Grutzner filed his story with a notation "not releasable." However, he did, nevertheless, send the story containing classified information which was published to the world and is now available to our enemy. This public disclosure has lost to the USAF a tactical advantage which may result in the loss of American lives.

3. Other correspondents on the scene respected the security of this information until it had been released. This is the first serious breach of specifically classified information regarding Air Force activities. Unless positive action is taken against this offender, no security can be expected in like cases in the future.

4. It is strongly recommended that Charles Grutzner be no longer accredited as a correspondent and that he be removed from this theater.

For the Commanding General:

L. C. CRAIGIE,
*Major General, United States Air Force,
Vice Commander (Administration and Plans).*

Ltr, FEAF, APO 925, FEAF AG NO. 19796.

Subject: Security Violation by Press Correspondent, December 19, 1950.
AG 095 (19 Dec 50) PIO.

[1st indorsement]

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS, FAR EAST COMMAND,
APO 500, December 24, 1950.

To : The Adjutant General, Department of the Army, Washington 25, D. C.

1. Forwarded herewith is a letter from the Commanding General, Far East Air Forces, recommending the disaccreditation of Mr. Charles Grutzner, of the New York Times, for having deliberately violated the security precautions.

2. This headquarters concurs in the recommendation contained in paragraph 4 of basic communication and believes this is a clear case as stated in paragraph 9b, Special Regulations 360-60-1, 27 April 1949.

For the Commander in Chief:

F. W. LASKOWSKI,
For K. B. BUSH,
Brigadier General, USA, Adjutant General.

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY,
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF INFORMATION,
Washington 25, D. C., January 10, 1951.

Memorandum for : Director, Office of Public Information, Department of Defense.
Subject : Recommendation for Disaccreditation of Charles Grutzner.

1. In compliance with provisions of paragraph 9b, Special Regulation 360-60-1, dated April 27, 1949, the attached correspondence from Major General L. C. Craigie, Vice Commander of the Far East Air Force, and Brig. General K. B. Bush, Adjutant General of the Far East Command, recommending disaccreditation of Mr. Charles Grutzner of the New York Times for security violation is forwarded for consideration and appropriate action.

2. Request this office be notified at the earliest convenient date of the disposition of this case in order that we can notify the Far East Command headquarters of the determination in this case.

EUGENE W. HARRISON
(For F. L. PARKS, Major General GSC, Chief of Information.)

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE,
OFFICE OF PUBLIC INFORMATION,
January 15, 1951.

Memorandum for Chief of Information, Department of the Army.
Subject : Recommendation for Disaccreditation of Charles Grutzner.

Department of Defense does not concur in basic recommendation to revoke accreditation of subject correspondent. This decision has been coordinated with the Department of the Air Force.

CLAYTON FRITCHY, *Director.*

Mr. SOURWINE. David Gordon is the first witness.

Mr. BOUDIN. May I ask that the television and radio be turned off and the lights turned off?

The CHAIRMAN. That will be granted.

Mr. BOUDIN. May I ask that no pictures be taken, as I requested before?

The CHAIRMAN. Stand up, Mr. Gordon.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. GORDON. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF DAVID ALEXANDER GORDON, NEW YORK, N. Y.,
ACCOMPANIED BY LEONARD BOUDIN, COUNSEL**

Mr. SOURWINE. Would you give the reporter your full name, please.

Mr. GORDON. My name is David Gordon.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have a middle name or initial?

Mr. GORDON. "A."

Mr. SOURWINE. What does that stand for?

Mr. GORDON. Alexander.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where do you live, sir?

Mr. GORDON. I live in New York City.

Mr. SOURWINE. At what address?

Mr. GORDON. 119-502 135th Street.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where are you employed?

Mr. GORDON. At the New York Daily News.

Mr. SOURWINE. How long have you been there?

Mr. GORDON. Six years.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where did you work before that?

Mr. GORDON. Immediately prior?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes, sir.

Mr. GORDON. I was a free-lance writer, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. And did you have employment before your period of free-lance writing?

Mr. GORDON. Employment?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes, sir.

Mr. GORDON. At what time, sir?

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, at some time prior to your free-lance period were you employed?

Mr. GORDON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where?

Mr. GORDON. I was employed at the Overseas News Agency.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am attempting to get your employment chronologically in reverse, you might say. Before that where were you employed?

Mr. GORDON. I was employed as a publicity director for the transport workers' union.

Mr. SOURWINE. And before that?

Mr. GORDON. I was in the United States Army.

Mr. SOURWINE. As an enlisted man?

Mr. GORDON. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Before you went in the Army, where were you employed?

Mr. GORDON. I was employed for 6 or 7 months as a reporter on a seamen's union newspaper.

Mr. SOURWINE. Before that where were you employed?

Mr. GORDON. I was employed on the Brooklyn Eagle.

Mr. SOURWINE. How long were you with the Brooklyn Eagle?

Mr. GORDON. From 1933 until 1943.

Mr. SOURWINE. While you were on the Brooklyn Eagle were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GORDON. I am not a Communist and have not been in any way for the past 12 years.

The CHAIRMAN. Answer his question. Repeat the question, counsel.

Mr. SOURWINE. While you were employed on the Brooklyn Eagle were you a Communist?

Mr. GORDON. I decline to answer on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you a member of a Communist unit on the Brooklyn Eagle?

Mr. GORDON. I decline to answer on that ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SOURWINE. When was it that you were employed by the transport workers union?

Mr. GORDON. It was in the latter part of 1946.

Mr. SOURWINE. That was within the last 12 years?

Mr. GORDON. I beg your pardon, sir?

Mr. SOURWINE. That was within the last 12 years?

Mr. GORDON. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you at the time you were employed by the transport workers union a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GORDON. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was the transport workers union in any way connected with the National Maritime Union?

Mr. GORDON. Not as far as I know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have anything to do with the publication of the Communist Party paper, the Eagle Eye; published at the Brooklyn Eagle?

Mr. GORDON. I decline to answer on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Isn't it a fact that you handled the printing of that paper?

Mr. GORDON. I decline to answer on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you collect money for the Eagle Eye?

Mr. GORDON. I decline to answer on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you ever a party worker for the Communist Party in Brooklyn, N. Y.?

Mr. GORDON. I decline to answer on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you a member of the New York Newspaper Guild?

Mr. GORDON. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you hold office in that guild?

Mr. GORDON. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you a Communist while you were a member of the New York Newspaper Guild?

Mr. GORDON. I decline to answer on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you ever a member of the New York cultural division of the Communist Party?

Mr. GORDON. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you ever active in the Young Workers Communist League?

Mr. GORDON. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you ever active in the Young Communists League?

Mr. GORDON. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you ever an organizer for the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. GORDON. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever teach in labor schools?

Mr. GORDON. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you ever a staff member of the Jefferson School of Social Science?

Mr. GORDON. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you, sir, know Alvah Bessie?

Mr. GORDON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know him as a Communist?

Mr. BOUDIN. Would you repeat the question, please.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know him as a Communist?

Mr. GORDON. I decline to answer on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Nat Einhorn?

Mr. GORDON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know him as a Communist?

Mr. GORDON. I decline to answer on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Victor Weingarten?

Mr. GORDON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know him as a Communist?

Mr. GORDON. I decline to answer on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Violet Brown?

Mr. GORDON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know her as a Communist?

Mr. GORDON. I decline to answer on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Charles Lewis?

Mr. GORDON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know him as a Communist?

Mr. GORDON. I decline to answer on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Hyman Charniak?

Mr. GORDON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know him as a Communist?

Mr. GORDON. I decline to answer on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Herbert Cohn?

Mr. GORDON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know him as a Communist?

Mr. GORDON. I decline to answer on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Melvin Barnett?

Mr. GORDON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know him as a Communist?

Mr. GORDON. I decline to answer on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know David Gordon by any other name?

Mr. GORDON. Are you referring to me, sir?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes, sir.

Mr. GORDON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. What other names do you know David Gordon by?

Mr. GORDON. I only know myself under my own name, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have never used any other name?

Mr. GORDON. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Charles Grutzner?

Mr. GORDON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know him as a Communist?

Mr. GORDON. I decline to answer on the ground that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Gladys Bentley?

Mr. GORDON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know her as a Communist?

Mr. GORDON. I decline to answer on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Leonard Adler?

Mr. GORDON. Who was that, sir?

Mr. SOURWINE. Leonard Adler.

Mr. GORDON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know him as a Communist?

Mr. GORDON. I decline to answer on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Murray Young?

Mr. GORDON. I decline to answer on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am just asking you in this case if you know him. Do you know Murray Young?

Mr. GORDON. I decline to answer on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Amos Landman?

Mr. GORDON. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know him as a Communist?

Mr. GORDON. I decline to answer on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Monroe Stern?

Mr. GORDON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Milton Kaufman?

Mr. GORDON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know him as a Communist?

Mr. GORDON. I decline to answer on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know John Francis Ryan, also known as Jack Ryan?

Mr. GORDON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know him as a Communist?

Mr. GORDON. I decline to answer on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Gladys Kopf?

Mr. GORDON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Ira Henry Freeman?

Mr. GORDON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know he was a Communist?

Mr. BOUDIN. The witness said he didn't know him.

Mr. SOURWINE. You might know him as a Communist without knowing him.

Mr. GORDON. Sir, I don't know him.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Sam Weissman?

Mr. GORDON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know him as a Communist?

Mr. GORDON. I decline to answer on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know his former wife, Helen Weissman?

Mr. GORDON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know his present wife?

Mr. GORDON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Mrs. Doretta Tarmon?

Mr. GORDON. I decline to answer on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SOURWINE. That question was only whether you knew her.

Mr. GORDON. I stand on my answer.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, sir; after you were subpoenaed to appear before this committee did you discuss the question of that subpoena with anyone?

Mr. GORDON. Will you repeat the question, sir?

Mr. SOURWINE. After you had been subpoenaed to appear before this committee did you discuss the matter of that subpoena with any person?

Mr. GORDON. I decline to answer on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Winston Burdett?

Mr. GORDON. Will you repeat that?

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Winston Burdett?

Mr. GORDON. I decline to answer on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am only asking you whether you know him. Do you decline to answer that question?

Mr. GORDON. I stand on my previous answer.

Mr. SOURWINE. How did you happen to select your present attorney?

Mr. BOUDIN. Objection.

The CHAIRMAN. Answer the question.

Mr. GORDON. I have seen his name in the newspapers.

Mr. BOUDIN. I move to strike out the answer.

The CHAIRMAN. That is overruled.

Mr. BOUDIN. Thank you. Excuse me a second. Go right ahead.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did anyone advise or instruct you to retain your present counsel?

Mr. GORDON. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you consult with any person or persons known to you to be Communists with respect to your appearance before this committee?

Mr. BOUDIN. Would you repeat the question?

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I want to call attention to the fact that after I asked that question the witness started to answer and witness' counsel put his hand over the microphone and asked me to repeat the question.

Mr. BOUDIN. I didn't do anything of the kind.

The CHAIRMAN. I didn't hear the question. Repeat it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Will the reporter read it.

The reporter read the question.

The CHAIRMAN. Answer that question.

Mr. GORDON. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Gordon, what position do you hold on the newspaper by which you are now employed?

Mr. GORDON. I am a reporter.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever disclose to your employers the fact that you had been summoned to appear before this committee?

Mr. GORDON. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you discuss with them the question of your demeanor before the committee?

Mr. BOUDIN. Objection. It is irrelevant.

The CHAIRMAN. Answer the question.

Mr. GORDON. No, sir; I was not asked.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you discuss with them the question of whether you would claim your privilege under the fifth amendment when you appeared before the committee?

Mr. GORDON. No; the question was not asked.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have no further questions of this witness.

Mr. BOUDIN. Excuse me a second, Mr. Sourwine.

The CHAIRMAN. Call your next witness.

Mr. BOUDIN. The witness wanted to make one correction on his testimony. It is a small matter, but I think the record should be clear, if you will excuse me a second.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. BOUDIN. May I ask that no pictures be taken while the witness is at the table? I can see the press moving in again.

The CHAIRMAN. If you desire to make a statement, all right.

Mr. BOUDIN. May the witness consult with me before he makes it?

Mr. GORDON. I just wanted to say that on the question of using any other name, the answer is "Yes."

Mr. BOUDIN. In other words, the witness has said that he has never used any other name, has never been known by any other name.

The CHAIRMAN. You cannot testify for the witness.

Mr. BOUDIN. I thought Mr. Sourwine looked puzzled, I was explaining—

The CHAIRMAN. You cannot testify for the witness. The witness can make a statement.

Mr. BOUDIN. All right.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. GORDON. The answer is, "Yes," I had used another name.

Mr. SOURWINE. Tell us what it is.

Mr. GORDON. On the newspaper occasionally we used office bylines, and on one occasion I remember the office, because I had several other stories in the newspaper—this is the News—used another byline as well as my own byline. And as to other times I decline to answer on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, the witness has already testified under oath that he has never used any other name.

Is it your testimony now that you did use other names on other occasions than when you used a byline in the newspaper, and that with respect to those occasions you are now claiming your privilege under the fifth amendment?

The CHAIRMAN. That is the testimony.

Mr. SOURWINE. You had a party name in the Communist Party, did you not?

Mr. GORDON. I decline to answer on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you change your testimony in this case voluntarily, on your own initiative, or were you told to do so?

Mr. GORDON. Changed voluntarily, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Call the next witness.

Mr. SOURWINE. The next witness is Melvin Barnett.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you solemnly swear that testimony you are about to give the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate of the United States shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BARNETT. I do.

TESTIMONY OF MELVIN LESLIE BARNETT, NEW YORK, N. Y.,
ACCOMPANIED BY LEONARD BOUDIN, COUNSEL

Mr. BOUDIN. May I make the same request, Mr. Chairman, with respect to pictures being taken right now, while I am making the request?

The CHAIRMAN. There will be no pictures permitted. You will have to turn the television lights off while we are questioning the witness.

Mr. BOUDIN. May I repeat the request, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. A witness has a right under the rules of the committee to make such a request. I ask that you gentlemen obey the rules.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Barnett, will you please give your full name?

Mr. BARNETT. Melvin L. Barnett.

Mr. SOURWINE. What does the "L" stand for?

Mr. BARNETT. Leslie.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is your address, sir?

Mr. BARNETT. 93 Remson Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where are you employed?

Mr. BARNETT. New York Times.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are accompanied by counsel?

Mr. BARNETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Would you identify your counsel.

Mr. BARNETT. Leonard Boudin.

Mr. SOURWINE. Of the New York Bar?

Mr. BARNETT. I think so.

Mr. SOURWINE. The same counsel who attended the preceding witness?

Mr. BARNETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Barnett, what is your capacity on the New York Times?

Mr. BARNETT. I am a copy reader, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. How long have you had that position?

Mr. BARNETT. Two and a quarter years.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was your job before that?

Mr. BARNETT. I was a copy reader for the New York Journal of Commerce.

Mr. SOURWINE. And how long were you there?

Mr. BARNETT. Since February 1946, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. And what did you do before that?

Mr. BARNETT. Before that I was in the Army.

Mr. SOURWINE. As an enlisted man?

Mr. BARNETT. As an enlisted man. I enlisted.

Mr. SOURWINE. What did you do in the Army?

Mr. BARNETT. I was in the Signal Corps stationed on Okinawa.

Mr. SOURWINE. And before you were in the Army where were you employed?

Mr. BARNETT. Before the Army I was with OWI for about 9 months.

Mr. SOURWINE. And at what time was that, what year?

Mr. BARNETT. 1942.

Mr. SOURWINE. And who was your superior in OWI?

Mr. BARNETT. As I recall, George MacMillan.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who employed you for OWI?

Mr. BARNETT. OWI—the Office of Emergency Management first.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who did you interview in seeking employment with OWI?

Mr. BARNETT. It was Mr. MacMillan's superior; I forget his name; he was a gentleman that had had a position with the New York World Telegram and went over as news chief, something like that, for the Information Division of the Office of Emergency Management.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who did you give as reference when you applied to OWI for employment?

Mr. BARNETT. I don't recall, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where were you employed before you went with OWI?

Mr. BARNETT. The summer of 1941 I was on the Mirror desk for about 3 months.

Mr. SOURWINE. And before?

Mr. BARNETT. Before that I was with the Brooklyn Eagle from June 1936 to about February 1941.

Mr. SOURWINE. And what was your job on the Eagle?

Mr. BARNETT. Reporter, rewrite man, and later copy reader.

Mr. SOURWINE. While you were employed by the Brooklyn Eagle were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BARNETT. I assert my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you a member of the Communist unit on the Brooklyn Eagle?

Mr. BOUDIN. Excuse me a second.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Attorney, we are going to conduct this investigation by the rules, sir. The rights of the witness and his counsel will be respected by this committee, but counsel may not volunteer.

Mr. BOUDIN. May I confer with my client?

The CHAIRMAN. If your client desires to confer with you it may be granted.

Mr. BOUDIN. I will ask him.

Mr. BARNETT. I so desire.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. BARNETT. Will you repeat that question?

Mr. SOURWINE. The question was, Were you a member of the Communist unit on the Brooklyn Eagle?

Mr. BARNETT. Since February or March of 1942, sir, I have not been a Communist. As to the time prior to that, I assert my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever see the paper, the Eagle Eye?

Mr. BARNETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know that that was the Communist Party paper at the Brooklyn Eagle?

Mr. BARNETT. Will you repeat the question, please?

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know that was the Communist Party paper at the Brooklyn Eagle?

Mr. BARNETT. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. That was a well-known fact; was it not?

Mr. BARNETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you work on that paper, the Eagle Eye?

Mr. BARNETT. I assert my privilege, sir, under the fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Winston Burdett?

Mr. BARNETT. I assert my privilege under the fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. When did you work for OWI?

Mr. BARNETT. I worked for OWI from February or March 1942 until I enlisted in the Army in about November 1942.

Senator EASTLAND. Were you a member of the Communist Party while you were employed by OWI?

Mr. BARNETT. No, sir.

Senator EASTLAND. Proceed.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Alvah Bessie?

Mr. BARNETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know him as a Communist?

Mr. BARNETT. I assert my privilege, sir, under the fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Victor Weingarten?

Mr. BARNETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know him as a Communist?

Mr. BARNETT. I assert my privilege, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Violet Brown?

Mr. BARNETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. She subsequently became Violet Weingarten?

Mr. BARNETT. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know her as a Communist?

Mr. BARNETT. I assert my privilege, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Charles Lewis?

Mr. BARNETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know him as a Communist?

Mr. BARNETT. I assert my privilege, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Hyman Charniak?

Mr. BARNETT. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know him as a Communist?

Mr. BARNETT. I assert my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Herbert Cohn?

Mr. BARNETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know him as a Communist?

Mr. BARNETT. I assert my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Melvin Barnett?

Mr. BARNETT. I am Melvin Barnett.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know yourself by any other name? Have you ever used any other name?

Mr. BARNETT. I assert my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Didn't you have a Communist Party name?

Mr. BARNETT. I assert my privilege, sir, under the fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know David Gordon?

Mr. BARNETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know him as a Communist?

Mr. BARNETT. I assert my privilege, sir, under the fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that the David Gordon who testified just before you did?

Mr. BARNETT. That is the David Gordon that I know, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Charles Grutzner?

Mr. BARNETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know him as a Communist?

Mr. BARNETT. I assert my privilege, sir, under the fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Gladys Bentley?

Mr. BARNETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know her as a Communist?

Mr. BARNETT. I assert my privilege, sir, under the fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Leonard Adler?

Mr. BARNETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know him as a Communist?

Mr. BARNETT. I assert my privilege, sir, under the fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Lyle Dowling?

Mr. BARNETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know him as a Communist?

Mr. BENNETT. I assert my privilege, sir, under the fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Murray Young?

Mr. BARNETT. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Amos Landman?

Mr. BARNETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know him as a Communist?

Mr. BARNETT. I assert my privilege, sir, under the fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Milton Kaufman?

Mr. BARNETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know him as a Communist?

Mr. BARNETT. I assert my privilege, sir, under the fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know John Francis Ryan, otherwise known as Jack Ryan?

Mr. BARNETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know him as a Communist?

Mr. BARNETT. I assert my privilege, sir, under the fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Gladys Kopf?

Mr. BARNETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know her as a Communist?

Mr. BARNETT. I assert my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Ira Henry Freeman?

Mr. BARNETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know him as a Communist?

Mr. BARNETT. I assert my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Sam Weissman?

Mr. BARNETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know him as a Communist?

Mr. BARNETT. I assert my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Helen Weissman, his former wife?

Mr. BARNETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know her as a Communist?

Mr. BARNETT. I assert my privilege, sir, under the fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Mrs. Doretta Tarmon?

Mr. BARNETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know her as a Communist?

Mr. BARNETT. I assert my privilege under the fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. How long have you known Charles Grutzner?

Mr. BARNETT. Will you repeat the question, sir?

Mr. SOURWINE. How long have you known Charles Grutzner?

Mr. BARNETT. Since about 1936 or 1937.

Mr. SOURWINE. You knew him when you were both employed by the Brooklyn Eagle, did you?

Mr. BARNETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Leonard Boudin?

Mr. BARNETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know him as a Communist?

Mr. BARNETT. No, sir.

Mr. BOUDIN. I object to the question. It is uncalled for and that is improper on the part of counsel.

The CHAIRMAN. Overruled.

Mr. BOUDIN. I am not making a motion, Mr. Chairman; I am asking you to tell counsel not to behave that way.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Sourwine.

Mr. SOURWINE. I might say for the record—

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. BOUDIN. That is improper, by another member of the bar sitting as counsel for the committee—

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Sourwine.

Mr. SOURWINE. The question was asked for the purpose of showing the witness was capable of some discrimination.

Mr. BOUDIN. I am not interested in testing the witness on names.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you, sir, after you had received the subpoena to appear before this committee, consult with your present employers about that matter?

Mr. BARNETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you discuss with them the question of your demeanor in your appearance here?

Mr. BARNETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you discuss with them the question of whether you would avail yourself here of your privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment?

Mr. BARNETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Tell us about what was said.

Mr. BARNETT. Yes, sir. I told them at this time I would avail myself of my privilege against testifying against myself.

Mr. SOURWINE. With whom did you discuss this matter?

Mr. BARNETT. With Louie Lobie and other executives of the company.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you told that if you took the fifth amendment here you would be discharged?

Mr. BARNETT. Will you repeat the question, please, sir?

Mr. SOURWINE. I asked if you were told that if you availed yourself of the fifth amendment before this committee you would be discharged.

Mr. BARNETT. I was not so told, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you in April fill out a questionnaire or form for your present employer?

Mr. BARNETT. I filled out a form, an information form.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you in filling out that form disclose the fact that you had been a former member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BARNETT. The question seems to me to be a loaded question, sir. Could you put it another way?

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you put any answer or statement on that form which would indicate that you had been a former member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BARNETT. I put no such statement of the form, sir. There was no specific request for that information.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are saying that there was no place on the form calling for such information?

Mr. BARNETT. There was no place on this form that said, "Are you or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?"

Mr. SOURWINE. Was there anything on the form that asked for organizations that you had belonged to?

Mr. BARNETT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. And did you in that space list the Communist Party?

Mr. BARNETT. I did not, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was there anything on the form asking about your loyalty to the United States or your possible membership in any organization dedicated to the overthrow of the Government of the United States?

Mr. BARNETT. As I recall, sir, I am pretty sure there was no such—no such request for that kind of information. It was a biographical form that was to help in assignment and reassignment and some more material and things like that.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right, sir. I have no more questions of this witness, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, as I understand it, the New York Times gave you a form that asked questions; and one of the questions they asked was what organizations you belonged to; and you did not list the Communist Party.

Mr. BARNETT. Sir, it was not a personnel form, it was a form—distinct—the thing was entirely voluntary, there was no need to fill it out—it was for biographical purposes.

Senator EASTLAND. I know. I say, the question asked you was, "List the organizations to which you had belonged." Now, your answer was you did not list the Communist Party as one of those organizations. Is that correct?

Mr. BARNETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Call your next witness.

Mr. SOURWINE. Charles Saul Lewis.

The CHAIRMAN. Hold up your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary of the United States Senate is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. LEWIS. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES SAUL LEWIS, BURLINGTON, VT.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Lewis, I have just had returned to you certain documents which you gave the committee in executive session.

Would you tell the reporter your full name, please?

Mr. LEWIS. Charles Saul Lewis.

Mr. SOURWINE. And your address, Mr. Lewis.

Mr. LEWIS. My address is R. F. D. 1, Burlington, Vt.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you employed?

Mr. LEWIS. I am, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where?

Mr. LEWIS. By Radio Station WCAX and Television Station WCAX-TV, in Burlington, Vt.

Mr. SOURWINE. And what is your capacity in your employment there?

Mr. LEWIS. I am director of public affairs for both stations.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are appearing here voluntarily?

Mr. LEWIS. I am, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You telephoned and wired the chairman of the Internal Security Subcommittee as soon as you knew that this committee was looking for the Charles Saul Lewis who had been employed on the Brooklyn Eagle?

Mr. LEWIS. That is correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you volunteered to come down and testify?

Mr. LEWIS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you took the matter up with your employer and he granted you leave for that purpose?

Mr. LEWIS. That is correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Lewis, how long were you employed on the Brooklyn Eagle?

Mr. LEWIS. May I refer to some notes I have here?

Mr. SOURWINE. Of course.

Mr. LEWIS. I went to the Brooklyn Eagle February 1929 and left the Brooklyn Eagle in October of 1942.

Mr. SOURWINE. And what jobs did you hold there?

Mr. LEWIS. I began as a district reporter. I went into the office on relays; and as Long Island editor—served at various editorial capacities thereafter, among them as editor of a daily—first a weekly and twice-a-week special tabloid supplement of the Brooklyn Eagle, the so-called Nassau Island—I was next the editor. I left the Eagle in the job—in charge of late editions of the paper, which was an afternoon daily.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, Mr. Lewis, while you were employed by the Brooklyn Eagle were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LEWIS. I was, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. During what period of time?

Mr. LEWIS. For a period of several months in 1937, I—

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you a member of the Communist unit at the Daily Eagle?

Mr. LEWIS. I was.

Mr. SOURWINE. How did you come to join that unit?

Mr. LEWIS. I was recruited by Violet Brown.

Mr. SOURWINE. What did Violet Brown tell you about it?

Mr. LEWIS. Violet Brown contacted me and gave me a sales talk along the line that as an active member of the Newspaper Guild—and I was—I could be a member of the Communist Party, which she told me was making the actual decisions in the Newspaper Guild. I was curious about the—[after pause] that's all.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that the same Violet Brown who subsequently became Violet Weingarten?

Mr. LEWIS. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did anyone else assist in recruiting you into the party?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, tell us about the circumstances of your joining. Did you attend a particular meeting to become a member?

Mr. LEWIS. No; I didn't that I recall. I simply—I signed an application form and became a member and went to some meetings.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you pay dues?

Mr. LEWIS. I paid dues.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have a party card?

Mr. LEWIS. My recollection is, yes, I did have a party card.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who was in charge of that Communist unit at the Daily Eagle of which you were a member?

Mr. LEWIS. Nat Einhorn.

Mr. SOURWINE. Nat Einhorn?

Mr. LEWIS. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. What other persons can you remember who were members of that unit?

Mr. LEWIS. Gladys Bentley.

Mr. SOURWINE. Gladys Bentley. Did she have an official position in the unit?

Mr. LEWIS. I don't recall, sir, whether she did have an official position in the unit.

Mr. SOURWINE. What others?

Mr. LEWIS. Leonard Adler. Lyle Dowling. Jack Ryan. Milton Kaufman.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, was Milton Kaufman a member of the Brooklyn Eagle unit of the Communist Party?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir. I did know him as a—as, I believe, the leading Communist in the Newspaper Guild.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, you say Leonard Adler. Was he a member of the unit at the Daily Eagle?

Mr. LEWIS. That is correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. You say Lyle Dowling. Was he a member of the Communist unit with the Daily Eagle?

Mr. LEWIS. That is correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that the same Lyle Dowling who had held an executive position at the Eagle?

Mr. LEWIS. That is correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Victor Weingarten?

Mr. LEWIS. I did, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as a member of the Communist unit at the Eagle?

Mr. LEWIS. I did not, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as a Communist?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Hyman Charniak?

Mr. LEWIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as a Communist?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Herbert Cohn?

Mr. LEWIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as a Communist?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Melvin Barnett?

Mr. LEWIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as a Communist?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know David Gordon?

Mr. LEWIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as a Communist?

Mr. LEWIS. My only recollection about David Gordon in Communist affairs was an occasion when the Communist group—Communist Party gave a party for the Brooklyn Eagle, the members of the Newspaper Guild, and on that occasion I recall seeing David Gordon signing an application form for membership in the party. It was up on the wall, and I reached up on the wall, I reached up and took it away and tore it up.

Mr. SOURWINE. Tore up the application form?

Mr. LEWIS. Tore up the application form.

Mr. SOURWINE. Why did you do that?

Mr. LEWIS. Well, there could have been two reasons for it—

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, don't speculate. Tell us why you did it, if you know why you did it.

Mr. LEWIS. I can't say exactly why I did that. In looking back at it, it appeared the obvious thing to do, in a public place, on a matter of—

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Charles Grutzner?

Mr. LEWIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LEWIS. I have heard he was a member of the Communist Party. I don't recall ever having seen him at a meeting.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Murray Young?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as a Communist?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Amos Landman?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Monroe Stern?

Mr. LEWIS. I knew of Monroe Stern.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know whether he was a Communist?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know John Francis Ryan, also known as Jack Ryan?

Mr. LEWIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as a Communist?

Mr. LEWIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Gladys Kopf?

Mr. LEWIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know her as a Communist?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Ira Henry Freeman?

Mr. LEWIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as a Communist?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Sam Weissman?

Mr. LEWIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as a Communist?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know his first wife, Helen Weissman?

Mr. LEWIS. I believe so.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know her as a Communist?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know his second and present wife?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Mrs. Doretta Tarmon?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Will you tell us how you came to leave the Communist Party?

Mr. LEWIS. Well, it was in the middle of the Brooklyn Eagle strike when I received an assignment from Einhorn to go in an automobile with two other people from Brooklyn to Flushing, to Queens, and there point out to one of the people in the car, one of the persons who were in the car who was a brawny individual, point out to him a member of the Brooklyn Eagle staff who had remained in during the strike, and they were there to—he wanted me to point out this member of the staff who had remained in during the strike, to the brawny individual, who would deliver a beating to him.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who told you to do this?

Mr. LEWIS. Nat Einhorn.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you do it?

Mr. LEWIS. I went in the car with—with the two occupants, to Flushing.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know either of the two occupants of the car?

Mr. LEWIS. No; I did not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you identify them by name?

Mr. LEWIS. I am afraid not, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who was the person who was due to get a beating?

Mr. LEWIS. A man by the name of Floyd Barker.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead. You went in the car to Flushing. And then what?

Mr. LEWIS. We went to Flushing to the railroad station and there waited for a train with—a train on which he was expected to get off according to his normal schedule as well as I could remember that. A number of people got off the train.

I couldn't go for the deal, and I don't recall whether it was before he got off the train or not, I said to the two people who had driven me to Flushing that he had not gotten off the train and that I would check by telephone to see if he was at his home.

I went to a telephone and went through the motions of making a phone call and came out and said that he was safely at home and that the entire deal was off and returned thereafter to Brooklyn.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did that incident cause you to leave the party?

Mr. LEWIS. It did—it was one of the two-part proposition. I was revolted by the Communist violence, and I returned and, when I returned to Brooklyn, my wife wanted to know where I had been and I refused to tell her. And I only told her about it a short while ago.

We had a very serious discussion and the following day I advised Violet Brown that I was through with the Communist Party and that I had to make a choice between the party and my wife and I chose my wife.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you attend any Communist meetings after that?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you turn in your Communist Party card?

Mr. LEWIS. I don't recall so, sir, I believe I destroyed it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, tell us with which of these persons that you remember as colleagues and fellow workers on the Brooklyn Eagle you have had recent contacts.

Mr. LEWIS. Well, I have been in close contact and close relationship with two of the people who have been mentioned, and they are Hyman Charniak and Herb Cohn. I consider them—

Mr. SOURWINE (after interruption). You say you consider them—

Mr. LEWIS. I considered them as fine friends and very loyal Americans.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you work with Hyman Charniak?

Mr. LEWIS. I did, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. After you left the Brooklyn Eagle?

Mr. LEWIS. That is right, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where?

Mr. LEWIS. I worked with Charniak over at the—with the office of the United States High Commissioner for Germany. He was on the public relations side.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know where he is now?

Mr. LEWIS. I understood he was over at Munich working for Radio Free Europe.

Mr. SOURWINE. And did you work with Herbert Cohn?

Mr. LEWIS. While on the Brooklyn Eagle.

Mr. SOURWINE. And subsequently you did not work with him?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, what has been your association with him since you left the Brooklyn Eagle?

Mr. LEWIS. Well, as—as good friends. My wife is discriminating about friends, and Herb Cohn had been a very good friend for many, many years and over the years we have been in communication by mail—although I am not too good a correspondent—and have maintained contact with him. We like him and his wife and children and feel—that he is a fine—

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have any contact with Mr. Cohn after you had been in contact with this committee?

Mr. LEWIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Tell us about that.

Mr. LEWIS. I received a telephone call from Herb Cohn at about 10 o'clock at night on Saturday, July 2, and he asked me whether I had been subpoenaed and I said I had not but that I had been in touch with the subcommittee and had offered to testify down here.

He said he had been, he said he was or had been consulting counsel and wanted to see whether I needed any assistance in that direction, did I want a lawyer, and I said no—and that was the sum and substance of the telephone call.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he recommend a lawyer to you by name?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, have you had any contact with Nat Einhorn recently?

Mr. LEWIS. The last contact that I had with Nat Einhorn was shortly after I returned from overseas.

Mr. SOURWINE. Tell us about that.

Mr. LEWIS. That was January of 1953. I returned to the States in December of 1952 and I met Einhorn by chance on a street corner in Brooklyn Heights, N. Y., and he called, "Welcome home," and threw his arms around me and said, "Those things that you did overseas, the generals made you do them, didn't they?"

And we got into a rather hot argument on it almost immediately. I said nobody made me do anything, I fought communism overseas for exactly the same reason that I was an active guildsman, I don't like to stand by and don't stand by when people are pushed around.

The argument went on for, oh, I would say perhaps a minute or two until Einhorn was called away by his wife, who was about 10 feet away—and that was the last time I saw Einhorn.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know where Mr. Einhorn is now employed?

Mr. LEWIS. Immediately after that encounter I checked around on Einhorn and found that he was connected with the Polish information service in some capacity or other. I understand now that, from reading the newspapers, that he still has that connection.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, Mr. Lewis, after you left the Brooklyn Eagle did you go directly into the Army?

Mr. LEWIS. I left the Brooklyn Eagle to go into the Army, sir. I felt strongly about the war.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you drafted or did you volunteer?

Mr. LEWIS. I volunteered, but first my wife had to obtain employment. She went back in teaching after quite a number of years' lay-off and when she obtained a teaching appointment I then went around and tried to get into the Army and finally had to go to the draft board, or rather I went to the draft board and presented a waiver and they accepted that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you serve as an enlisted man?

Mr. LEWIS. I served as an enlisted man.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, what jobs did you handle in the Army?

Mr. LEWIS. I was sent to Miami Beach, Fla., in the Air Force and took my basic training there and was given a job in the special orders section of the OCS, that is the administrative OCS of the Air Force. I fell out for work of that type in preference to a permanent KP assignment which was coming up and stepped out of ranks when they called for anybody to leave ranks.

I worked in the special orders section and was promoted by stages to the rank of radio sergeant and by that time they checked a little closer on my eyes and found that I wouldn't do at all and I was given a disability discharge after 10 months in the Army.

Mr. SOURWINE. And then what did you do?

Mr. LEWIS. Well, my wife was ill at the time I got out of the Army so I applied for and obtained a job as a copyreader on the Miami Herald and stayed there a period of time, I think a month or two, and then felt that I still wanted to do something in the war which was going on.

And we left Florida and came north and I applied for a job with the Office of War Information in New York City. While waiting an appointment I worked for a month or two on the copydesk of the New York Daily News.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you obtain employment with OWI?

Mr. LEWIS. I did and went to work for the OWI in November of 1943.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, I think we can save a little time. You have there, and have referred to, a form which is a form 34 which is filled out in applying for employment with the State Department; is that correct?

Mr. LEWIS. That is correct, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You filled it out February 22, 1951?

Mr. LEWIS. That is correct. This is a ____

Mr. SOURWINE. And you furnished us that?

Mr. LEWIS. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. And it went into the record of our executive session.

Mr. LEWIS. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. I would like to ask, Mr. Chairman, that this form go in the record of this hearing at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be admitted.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

APPLICATION FOR EMPLOYMENT IN THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES

INSTRUCTIONS.—Answers to all questions must be typed or printed. All questions must be answered fully. If sufficient space has not been provided for your answer to any question, complete your answer under item #37

Date of application : February 22, 1951. Position applied for : Chief, Radio Branch.

FILE 123

1. Name (last) (first) (middle) (maiden, if any) : Lewis, Charles Saul.
2. Have you ever been known by any other name? Yes. If answer is "Yes," give full details under item #37.
- 3 (a). Permanent address (place from which transportation will be authorized if appointed. Street number and name) : 32 Beaumont Terrace.
- 3 (b). City, postal zone, State : Springfield, Mass.
4. State of which you are a legal resident : Mass.
5. Present address if different from above: 31 Luisentrasse, Bad Nauheim, Germany. Present business phone: 7626. Present home phone: 2872.
6. Date of birth (month, day, year) : 5 Feb. 1908.
7. Place of birth (city, State, or country) : Germiston, South Africa.
- 8 (a). If born outside U. S. how was citizenship acquired? From father's naturalization certificate : 2A 30794 AA-1300.
9. Sex: male.
10. Height: 5 ft. 6 in.
11. Weight: 150 lbs.
12. Marital status: Married.
13. What is the lowest base salary, exclusive of allowances you will accept? \$9,450 per annum.

14. What restrictions are there if any on your immediate availability for duty in any part of the world? None.

15. Full name of wife (if wife, maiden name) : Virginia Kathleen Byers.

(b) Date of birth: 4 Nov. 1904.

(c) Place of birth: South Bend, Ind.

16. Dependents: Virginia Byers Lewis. Relationship: Wife. Date of birth: 4 Nov. 1904.

17. Which dependents would you wish to accompany you abroad? Wife.

18 (a) Father's name: Morris Lewis. (b) Place of birth: Russia. (c) Occupation: merchant. (d) Present address: Deceased. (e) If born outside U. S. did father ever obtain U. S. citizenship? Yes.

19 (a) Mother's maiden name: Hilda Ehrlich. (b) Place of birth: Germany. (c) Occupation if any: Housewife. (d) Present address: Deceased. (e) If born outside U. S. did mother ever obtain U. S. citizenship? Yes.

20 (a) Can you take dictation? No. (b) Are you a stenotypist? No. (c) Can you type by touch system? Yes. (d) Name other office machines you operate: None.

21. Military status:

(a) If you have been in the Armed Forces or in the merchant marine in what service and branch did you serve? (e. g., U. S. Army: Field Artillery) : Army Air Force.

(b) Service or serial number: ASN 32516866.

(c) Date of entry on active duty: 1 Oct. 1942.

(d) Rate or rank at time of entry: Private.

(e) Date of honorable discharge or separation: 31 July 1943.

(f) Rate or rank at time of discharge or separation: Sgt.

(g) Present rate or rank if on active duty: None.

22a. What pertinent Federal civil service examinations have you taken? (Give year, title, and grade received) : U 137 Information Specialist, 1941. Rating not known.

(b) Do you have a permanent civil service status in the Federal Government? No.

(c) If now employed in the Federal Government give present grade and date of last change in grade: FSS-1, October 16, 1949.

23. Have you ever applied for a position under the Department of State or taken an examination for a position under the Department of State? No.

24. Have you ever held a position under a foreign government? (Including service in the armed services of a foreign power) : No.

25. Outline your travel or residence abroad giving dates, purpose, and places (if not while in the Armed Forces give number, date, and place of issuance of American passport) : England, 1-12 July 1945 en route to Germany on OWI assignment; Germany, 12 July 1945 to present date, assignment to occupation duties; Luxembourg, 12-14 July 1945, inspection of Radio Luxembourg; Poland, 12-16 Feb. 1946, getting Polish radio station off U. S. frequency; Denmark, 19-25 July 1946, leave; Switzerland, 14-21 August 1947, Swiss radio talks; Brussels, Belgium, March 1948, U. S. observer at preliminary European regional broadcasting conference; Copenhagen, Denmark, June 1948, member of U. S. delegation at European Broadcasting Conference; London, England, February 1950, member of U. S. delegation at frequency conference of Western European nations; Switzerland-Italy-France, March 1950, leave; Luxembourg, November 1950, radio conference with officials of Radio Luxembourg; Athens, Greece, December 1950, frequency conference with Greek radio officials.

26. Foreign languages (name and indicate the extent of your competence, i. e., excellent, good, fair): (a) Language: German. (b) Read: fair. (c) Write: fair. (d) Speak: good. (c) Understand: good.

27. Education: Central High School, Springfield, Mass., 1922-26. Graduated.

28. Employment:

INSTRUCTIONS.—(In the spaces provided below describe every position which you have held since you first began to work. Start with present position and work back to the first position which you held. Account for all periods of unemployment and state reasons of any unemployment indicated.) Use continuation sheet if more space is required

Present position

Dates of employment (month, year) : From 16 Oct. 1949 to present. Exact title of your present position: Chief, Radio Branch. Salary or earnings: Starting, \$9,150 per year; present \$9,450 per year.

Place of employment (city, State) : Bad Nauheim and Frankfurt/M, Germany.

Name and address of employer : PUB—HICOG :

Number and kind of employees supervised by you : 15 U. S. Broadcasting specialists.

Name and title of your immediate supervisor : W. J. Convery Egan, Chief, ISD.

Reason for desiring to change employment: [Blank]. If currently employed, may we approach present employer? Yes.

Description of your work. (See attached position description.)

FOREIGN SERVICE, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

POSITION DESCRIPTION—POSITION NO. PA-63

1. Name : Lewis, Charles Saul.
2. Post : Bad Nauheim, Germany.
3. Organization title : Chief, Radio Branch.
4. Organizational unit : Office of Public Affairs.
5. Status and salary : FSS Class No. 1, base salary per year U. S., \$9,150.
6. Organizational subunit : Information Services Division, Radio Branch.
7. Employee certification :

I certify that the information given for items 8 and 9 below is an accurate and complete description of my duties:

(a) Signature : C. S. Lewis. (b) Date : 12 September 1950.

8. Kind of work :

This position charges the incumbent with serving as the radio broadcasting specialist of the Office of the U. S. High Commissioner for Germany and directing the activities of the Radio Branch, Information Services Division, Office of Public Affairs, in carrying out a broad and varied program of broadcasting operations in Germany.

In implementing the radio program with the assistance of his staff, the incumbent is required to—

(a) Formulate policies pertaining to radio broadcasting in Germany generally. This pertains to official U. S. broadcasts and broadcasting facilities to U. S.-authorized German stations and to German stations sponsored by the other occupation powers, their utilization and development.

(b) Participate in conferences with other Branch Chiefs of the Division, with the Division Chief and with the Director of the Office of Public Affairs in the formulation of general information policies. Incumbent is a member of the Division Planning Board which determines operating policies, plans overt information programs and strategy, techniques and devices for democratizing the German people, and review results of these programs in the light of current German reactions and opinions. Incumbent's duties are purely of a policymaking nature upon which the concrete output of the Division in the information field is dependent.

(c) Represent the U. S.-sponsored stations in Germany in negotiations and transactions with broadcasting authorities outside Germany, undertaking and developing program exchanges between the U. S.-sponsored stations in Germany with any broadcasting organization of any other nation.

(d) Assure, through all possible means and powers of occupation authority, that the U. S.-sponsored German radio stations are maintained as independent public service organizations, free of domination by any governmental, political, religious, economic, or other special interests.

(e) Observe and report on the performance of the U. S.-sponsored German stations in accordance with pertinent occupation and German legislation.

(f) Assist the U. S.-sponsored German stations in carrying out their obligations in all phases of broadcasting as public service institutions in accordance with pertinent occupation and German legislation. An important part of this function is the encouragement and assistance of the Intendants Council (organization of the Directors of German broadcasting companies in Western Germany, formed by Radio Branch) in its efforts to advance radio broadcasting as a professional society similar to the National Association of Broadcasters in the U. S.

(g) Participate in the assignment of frequencies and determination of the terms on which they may be used by any German-language radio station in the U. S. Area of Control, taking part, as the U. S. broadcasting authority, in interdivisional, interagency, and international frequency negotiations and conferences. Incumbent serves as chairman of an informal European Theater frequency board comprising broadcasting authorities of the Office of the U. S. High

Commissioner for Germany and European Command engaged in the problems of European broadcasting. This group maintains close liaison with a group of broadcasting specialists similarly organized to represent various governmental agencies in Washington for the purpose of formulating and implementing governmental policy on broadcasting facilities and operations in the European theater.

(h) Serve as U. S. radio advisor in meetings of the Allied High Commission Subcommittee on Information and Cultural Affairs on such matters as pertain to radio broadcasting, and as U. S. delegate in meetings of the Radio Working Party of the Subcommittee on Information and Cultural Affairs.

(i) Plan and supervise all overt U. S. broadcasting operations. This comprises the operation of RIAS, the HICOG radio station serving Berlin and the Soviet Zone of Germany, with its studio and transmitter installations in Berlin, at Hof (in Northern Bavaria) and at Bonn; in addition to studios in the HICOG Berlin headquarters and in the Division headquarters at Bad Nauheim. Also included are special overt programs such as semiofficial commentaries broadcast twice weekly and official ECA programs broadcast weekly.

(j) Direct the broadcast of overt and nonovert programs by any station or combination of stations in the U. S. Area of Control.

(k) Provide analysis of Soviet and/or other power's radio propaganda for counterpropaganda, for information and dissemination to other U. S. agencies.

(l) Conduct liaison with the Voice of America for purposes of coordination of programming, policy advice and consultation and policy implementation.

(m) Organize the various offices and sections of Radio Branch and select American and German staffs for the duties which he delegates.

The functions of the Radio Branch fall into two categories commonly termed overt, meaning official or U. S., and nonovert, meaning German and relating to broadcasting activities which have been turned over to German public service broadcasting organizations. Accordingly, the structure of the Branch has been formed with the two main divisions, Overt Operations and German Operations, and two others which are necessarily more specialized, RIAS and Technical. Overt operations are directed from the Branch offices in Bad Nauheim and Berlin. They are also conducted under Branch supervision at the offices of Field Radio Representatives, assigned to the Land Commissioners, at Bremen, Frankfurt, Stuttgart, and Munich. German operations are directed from the Branch office in Bad Nauheim. Overt Operations includes the Propaganda Analysis Section located in Berlin to carry out its function of analysis of Soviet radio propaganda for immediate counterpropaganda use in overt radio broadcasts both in Western Germany and behind the Iron Curtain in Berlin. German Operations includes the Scrutiny Section at Bad Nauheim and is concerned primarily with the scrutiny of the Western German radio stations' output.

9. Elements of difficulty:

A. Guidance: (1) The person responsible for work performed is Mr. W. J. Convery Egan, Chief, Information Services Division. Instructions frequently are received from Mr. Shepard Stone, Director of the Office of Public Affairs. The work is left largely to incumbent's initiative and judgment.

(2) Other guides governing the efficient discharge of duties include basic U. S. policy directives governing the information field, daily information guidances from the Department of State and spot guidances from the Department of State concerned with various aspects of radio broadcasting in Germany. The Chief, Radio Branch, is required to have an extensive background in United States Foreign Policy and its application in the field of radio broadcasting. He must be thoroughly familiar with techniques of propaganda to be able to direct the use of radio instruments in the combatting of Soviet and other unfriendly propaganda and in the projection of U. S. aims in a positive manner.

B. Public and internal relations: (1) The position requires the incumbent to meet and confer with the following: All U. S. officials in Germany who are responsible for the formation of U. S. information policy; visiting officials from the U. S. who are either interested in or related with information activity generally or radio broadcasting specifically; Land Commissioners and HICOG officials in the field on matters pertaining to radio broadcasting; the representatives of France and the United Kingdom in tripartite discussions on radio broadcasting and other representatives of these countries and other countries engaged in this particular information activity; the directors of the German broadcasting companies in Western Germany and key members of the board of trustees governing the operation of these companies; representatives of both the German and the American press and radio who from time to time call for information on broad-

casting activity ; and with officials of the Public Relations Division, the Education and Cultural Relations Division, and the ECA Information Section, HICOG.

(2) Meetings are held with the following other members of the ISD staffs: Chief, Press and Publications Branch; Chief, Opinion Surveys Branch; Chief, Editorial Projection Branch; Chief, Publishing Operations Branch, and Chief, Motion Picture Branch in the common endeavor to obtain uniform implementation of policy. The Chief, Radio Branch also maintains a close contact with the above-mentioned Branch Chiefs to effect quick action on daily routine problems of coordination.

C. Initiative and judgment: The incumbent is required to exercise initiative and judgment in carrying out the responsibilities of the position, obtaining instructions from his superiors in the establishment of new policy. An example of this initiative and judgment is the creation of the American broadcasting station, RIAS, in Berlin, begun in the fall of 1945 upon determination that the Soviets had no intention of relinquishing unilateral control of the important and powerful Berlin radio station and intended to maintain its operation as a Communist propaganda instrument. Development of RIAS to its present stature by stages of expansion rested upon the Branch Chief. Another example of the Branch Chief's initiative and judgment is the creation of German public service broadcasting corporations in Bavaria, Bremen, Hesse, and Wuerttemberg-Baden, considered a major achievement of the U. S. occupation of Germany. This required the planning of organization of these broadcasting institutions and partial relaxing of controls in the first phase, the planning and enactment of necessary German legislation in the second phase and the transfer of the stations to German hands under a new type of supervision in the third phase. Variations of the U. S.-originated formula of German public service broadcasting were adopted in the French and British occupation zones in establishing for the first time free and independent broadcasting in Germany.

D. Management responsibility: The responsibility for planning, coordinating, directing, and supervising the work of the Radio Branch staff rests with the Branch Chief. The Radio Branch maintains offices in Bad Nauheim and Berlin, and supervises offices of Field Radio Representatives assigned to the Land Commissioners' staffs at Bremen, Frankfurt, Stuttgart, and Munich. Key personnel are the Deputy Chief, who is also in charge of German Operations; the Director, RIAS, who is also Deputy Chief of Branch for Berlin and in charge of Overt Operations, and the Technical Chief, each of whom is responsible directly to the Branch Chief for performance of work in his specified division of the Branch's operations. The Deputy Chief is responsible for the supervision of the German radio stations in the U. S. area of control, Radio Bremen, Radio Frankfurt, Radio Stuttgart, and Radio Munich, and serves as Acting Chief in the absence of the Chief. The Technical Chief is responsible for technical operations both overt and nonovert.

The wide range of broadcasting activities covered by the key personnel requires that basic responsibility be delegated to these personnel and review and policy control rest with the Branch Chief. Overt Operations includes the Propaganda Analysis Section which maintains monitoring and analysis of Soviet radio propaganda in Germany, issuing a daily report for use by the Branch in counter-propaganda and for the information of interested governmental agencies. German Operations includes the Scrutiny Section which reviews the performance of the German stations on the basis of their broadcasts and issues special reports thereon. The Branch issues separate weekly Broadcast Trend Reports covering the overt and nonovert political performance of the German stations and RIAS. The Deputy Chief supervises the performance of the Field Radio Representatives assigned to the Land Commissioners' offices. Radio Branch maintains a daily six-way telephone conference with RIAS and the Field Radio Representatives for purposes of policy and programming coordination. Radio Branch maintains daily two-way radio conferences with the Voice of America in New York for purpose of programming and policy coordination. Radio Branch meetings are held at least monthly with key personnel of the Branch and the Field Radio Representatives in attendance to maintain the tightest possible coordination and the best possible understanding of the Radio Branch mission. The Branch supervises the following:

U. S. personnel :

Edmund Schechter, Deputy Chief

Fred G. Taylor, Director Rias and Deputy Chief for Berlin

Gordon A. Ewing, Deputy Director and Political Chief, RIAS
Political Officer, RIAS (under recruitment)

Herman Chevalier, Programming Chief, RIAS
Production Chief, RIAS (under recruitment)
G. R. Longerbeam, Business Manager, RIAS
Harold O. Wright, Technical Chief
Alexander Hartel, Chief, Propaganda Analysis Section
Thomas K. Brown, Chief, Scrutiny Section
Administrative Secretary (under recruitment)
Also on the staffs of the respective Land Commissioners:
Alex Saron, Field Radio Representative for Bremen
William Hart, Field Radio Representative for Hesse
Ernest Land, Field Radio Representative for Wuerttemberg-Baden
Hans Lynd, Field Radio Representative for Wuerttemberg-Baden
German personnel supervised include:
700 at RIAS ranging from specialists in various phases of broadcasting,
such as programming, production, administrative, engineering departmental heads, to clerical help.

10 Research analysts.

5 Secretaries.

1 Chief Clerk.

3 Clerks.

2 Radio Engineers.

1 Studio Technician.

10. Supervisor's statement:

(1) Purpose and operating title of the position: Under the general supervision of the Chief, Information Services Division, the Chief, Radio Branch is charged with the overall responsibility of planning and directing HICOG German-language broadcasting operations in implementation of the vigorous information and reorientation program, and carrying out such supervision of German broadcasting as may be required by the Office of the U. S. High Commissioner for Germany.

(2) Controls over the position: Control over the position of Chief, Radio Branch is exercised by this office insofar as policy and fiscal matters are involved. The day-to-day operations of Radio Branch are carried out by the Branch Chief, with weekly and other required periodic reports.

(3) Knowledges, skills, and abilities required by the position: In my opinion, it should take an employee newly assigned to this position three to six months to perform the work satisfactorily, provided he possesses the necessary background and experience. The Chief, Radio Branch must have extensive background in radio broadcasting or journalism and in the utilization of radio broadcasting as a propaganda instrument for the furthering of U. S. foreign policy. He must be thoroughly grounded in U. S. foreign policy and in the objectives of the Department of State in the information field and their applicability to Germany. He must have the executive ability to organize and administer large broadcasting operations on his own initiative and judgment.

(4) Certification of supervisor:

I certify that this description is an accurate and complete description of the duties and responsibilities of the position.

W. J. CONVERY EGAN.

Date: 12 September 1950.

Dates of employment (month, year): From 22 Sept. 1946 to 16 Oct. 1949.
Exact title of your position: Chief, Radio Branch. Salary or earnings: Starting, \$----- per year; final, \$8,808 per year.

Place of employment (city, state): Berlin and Bad Nauheim, Germany.

Name and address of employer: ISD, OMGUS.

Number and kind of employees supervised by you: 13 broadcasting specialists.

Name and title of immediate supervisor: Col. G. E. Textor, Director, ISD.

Reason for leaving: OMGUS transfer to HICOG.

Description of your work: Directing the supervision of German broadcasting in U. S. occupation areas, supervising Military Government radio activities, including the Berlin station RIAS, formulating and directing implementation of policy governing radio broadcasting in Germany, serving as U. S. delegate in negotiations with radio specialists of occupying and other nations.

Dates of employment (month, year): From 1 April 1946 to 22 Sept. 1946.
Exact title of your position: Acting Chief, Radio Control Branch. Salary or earnings: Starting, \$5,600 per year; final, \$7,102 per year.

Place of employment (city, state) : Berlin, Germany.

Name and address of employer: OIC, State Department (assigned to OMGUS).

Number and kind of employees supervised by you: 30 radio specialists, operating 5 stations.

Name and title of immediate supervisor: Brig. Gen. R. A. McClure, Director, ICD.

Reason for leaving: Promotion.

Description of your work: As described above. In addition, directing the rehabilitation of German radio with safeguards against its utilization again as the primary propaganda weapon of a central government regime, thus creating a fully democratic radio with instillation of the American doctrines of freedom of expression. Also establishing an American radio station in Berlin to protect U. S. occupation policy.

Dates of employment (month, year): From 12 July 1945 to 1 April 1946. Exact title of your position: Deputy Chief, Radio Control Branch. Salary or earnings: Starting, \$5,600 per year; final, \$5,600 per year.

Place of employment (city, state) : Berlin, Germany.

Name and address of employer: OWI and OIC, State Department (assigned to PWD, SHEAF, ICD).

Number and kind of employees supervised by you: 4 U. S. specialists, 150 Germans.

Name and title of immediate supervisor: Gerald Maulsby, Chief, Radio Control Branch.

Reason for leaving: Promotion.

Description of your work: Deputizing for the radio chief in his absence as described above, and also being responsible for U. S. representation in multi-partite negotiations on both the German national and Berlin Kommandatura levels, thereby assisting in the overall radio policy formulation for the U. S. Zone in Berlin. As Berlin radio chief, organizing a new radio station in Berlin (later known as RIAS) to project U. S. policies.

29. Other positions held for less than 3 months and periods of unemployment. (List—Beginning with most recent.)

Duration		Position	Name and address of employer or reason for unemployment	Starting and final salary per annum
From—	To—			
July 1941 -----	September 1941-----	Copyreader-----	Philadelphia Record, Philadelphia, Pa.	\$3,120
August 1943-----	September 1943-----	do-----	Miami Herald, Miami, Fla-----	2,600
October 1943-----	November 1943-----	do-----	New York Daily News, New York, N. Y.	3,640

30. Have you ever been discharged or forced to resign for misconduct or unsatisfactory service from any position? No.

31. (a) Have you now or have you ever had any physical defects or disabilities whatsoever? Yes—Nearsighted.

(b) Have you ever been under treatment for a mental or emotional disorder? No.

(c) Within the past twelve months, have you frequently used intoxicating beverages to excess? No.

(d) Have you ever had tuberculosis? No.

(e) Were you ever medically discharged from the Armed Forces? Yes—Nearsighted.

Dates of employment (month, year): From April 1945 to July 1945. Exact title of your position: Assistant Chief, N. Y. Office, Office of War Information. Salary or earnings: Starting, \$5,600 per year; final, \$5,600 per year.

Place of employment (city, State): New York, N. Y.

Name and address of employer: Office of War Information, 224 W. 57th St., New York, N. Y.

Number and kind of employees supervised by you: Upwards of 1,000 information experts.

Name and title of immediate supervisor: Louis G. Cowan, Chief, N. Y. Office.

Reason for leaving: Desire for overseas service.

Description of your work: Taking on the duties of the chief in his absence, directing OWI output in all media from this headquarters for the European

operations linked with PWD, SHEAF, and in addition carrying out special projects such as a reorganization of the New York and San Francisco offices (on latter being dispatched to Pacific coast as special representative of Director, OWI), revising OWI policy procedures and serving as policy consultant for the N. Y. office.

Dates of employment (month, year) : From June 1944 to April 1945. Exact title of your position : Central control, Shift Chief (Media Specialist). Salary or earnings : Starting, \$3,800 per year; final \$5,600 per year.

Place of employment (city, State) : New York, N. Y.

Name and address of employer : Office of War Information, 224 W. 57th St., New York, N. Y.

Number and kind of employees supervised by you : 200 control editors, monitors, et al.

Name and title of immediate supervisor : Joseph Marx, Chief, Control Office.

Reason for leaving : Emergency.

Description of your work : In charge of policy for N. Y. office during an 8-hour tour of duty daily, deciding OWI short-range policy for cable-wireless and supervising the various language control desks on the output of U. S. Government propaganda of the Voice of America. For the last few months, serving as acting chief of the Control Office, being responsible for policy decisions generally.

Dates of employment (month, year) : From 23 Nov. 1943 to May 1944. Exact title of your position : News Editor. Salary or earnings : Starting \$3,800 per year; final, \$3,800 per year.

Place of employment (city, State) : New York, N. Y.

Name and address of employer : Office of War Information, 224 W. 57th St., New York, N. Y.

Number and kind of employees supervised by you : 75 News Editors, Writers, Clerks.

Name and title of immediate supervisor : Theodore Kaghan, Chief, Basic News Division.

Reason for leaving : Transfer within OWI.

Description of your work : Central desk slot man, supervising editing and selection of news for Basic News Division, Overseas News & Features Bureau, OWI, making primary determination of what news would be used in U. S. Government radio and cable-wireless output abroad. Responsible thereby for direct implementation of U. S. policy toward Allied and neutral countries and furthering aims toward enemy.

Dates of employment (month, year) : From Feb. 1929 to Oct. 1942. Exact title of your position : MX editor. Salary or earnings : Starting \$1,820 per year; final \$2,600 per year.

Place of employment (city, State) : Brooklyn, N. Y.

Name and address of employer : Brooklyn Daily Eagle, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Number and kind of employees supervised by you : 5-25 editorial and 5-20 mechanical.

Name and title of immediate supervisor : Robert Grannis, managing editor.

Reason for leaving : Voluntary induction into Army.

Description of your work : In charge of late editions of the paper as combination news-telegraph-makeup editor, making all changes necessary for late news breaks to compete with the rest of the N. Y. afternoon dailies. Also held these editorships during period of employment, in addition to serving as reporter and rewrite man : Long Island Editor, Nassau supplement editor, night editor, picture editor, telegraph editor.

Remarks : From Feb. 1928 to Feb. 1929, reporter, starting, \$1,560 per year; final, \$1,560 per year.

Rockville Centre, New York.

Nassau Daily Review.

None.

John Greene, City Editor.

General reporter covering a Long Island district comprising several communities, each with their own political, legislative, educational, etc., systems of municipal government. This district included the municipalities of Valley Stream.

32. (a) Does your financial position permit discharge of all debts incurred? Yes.

(b) If now residing abroad have you ever paid a U. S. income tax? Yes. If answer is "Yes" give year and office of last payment. 1948, Brooklyn, N. Y.

33. Do you advocate or have you ever advocated, or are you now or have you ever been a member of any political party or organization that advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence? No. If answer is "Yes" give full details under item #37.

34. Have you ever been arrested or detained by civil or military authorities in the United States or in any other country (other than for minor traffic violations where the fine did not exceed \$25?) No.

35. List three competent and responsible persons in the United States not related to you by blood or marriage who are particularly qualified to supply definite information regarding your character and ability (do not give names of supervisors listed in answer to questions No. 28 or 29):

Leonard Doob, Yale University, New Haven, Ct., professor.

Mrs. Mildred Allen, OIE, Department of State, executive secretary.

John Minary, 485 Madison Ave., New York, lawyer-executive.

37. Use this space for completing answers to any of the foregoing questions, numbering answer to correspond with questions. Use extra sheets of paper if necessary.

2. Nickname: Sully (derived from middle name, Saul).

31. Vision corrected with glasses. Received disability discharge from Army since vision without glasses was insufficient for combat or general service.

CERTIFICATION

False Statement on this Application is Cause for Dismissal.

I do solemnly affirm that the information contained herein is correct to the best of my knowledge and belief.

CHARLES S. LEWIS,

(Name as usually written and which will be used as official signature).
Date: Feb. 22, 1951.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, just skimming down, from this form, you got your first job in the Office of War Information at what salary?

Mr. LEWIS. \$3,800.

Mr. SOURWINE. And when was that?

Mr. LEWIS. November 23, 1943.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you soon got a salary increase to \$5,600, is that right?

Mr. LEWIS. It was not "soon"—June of 1944.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have any difficulty getting that increase?

Mr. LEWIS. Well, yes, of course, the salary increase—

Mr. SOURWINE. You say you got it in June of 1944?

Mr. LEWIS. That is right, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. To \$5,600?

Mr. LEWIS. That is correct, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. And then where did you go after that, salarywise?

Mr. LEWIS. Well, I stayed at \$5,600 for quite a while.

Mr. SOURWINE. That was while you were assistant chief of the New York office, Office of War Information?

Mr. LEWIS. That is correct, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. In that job you took on the duties of the chief in his absence?

Mr. LEWIS. That is right, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You directed the OWI output in all media from this headquarters for the European operation linked with CWB and SHAFE?

Mr. LEWIS. That is correct, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. And in addition you carried special projects such as the reorganization of the New York and San Francisco offices?

Mr. LEWIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were a special representative of the Director of the OWI to the Pacific coast in connection with the reorganization of the San Francisco office?

Mr. LEWIS. That is correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. And that was during the period from April 1945 to July 1945?

Mr. LEWIS. That is right, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, during the prior period from June 1944 to April 1945 you had been central control chief?

Mr. LEWIS. That is right, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. In charge of policy for the New York office during an 8-hour tour of duty daily?

Mr. LEWIS. That is right, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. It was your job to decide on OWI short-range policy for cable-wireless?

Mr. LEWIS. That is correct, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You supervised the various language control desks on the output of United States Government propaganda of the Voice of America?

Mr. LEWIS. Yes, sir. That, of course, is—yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You, during the last few months of that period, that is, February, March, and April of 1945, you served as acting chief of the control office?

Mr. LEWIS. That is right, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Being responsible for policy decisions generally?

Mr. LEWIS. That is correct, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, from November 1943 to May 1944 you had been news editor of the New York office of OWI?

Mr. LEWIS. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. You had sat in the slot on the central desk there?

Mr. LEWIS. That is right, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You had supervised the selecting and editing of news for the basic news division of the overseas news and features bureau of the OWI?

Mr. LEWIS. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. It was you who made primary determination of what news would be used in United States cable and wireless output abroad?

Mr. LEWIS. That is right, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were responsible thereby for direct implementation of United States policy toward Allied and neutral countries and the furthering of our aims toward the enemy?

Mr. LEWIS. That is correct, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, after July 1945 you became Deputy Chief of the Radio Control Branch of OWI; is that right?

Mr. LEWIS. Not of OWI, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was that?

Mr. LEWIS. That would have been Information—Information Services Division of the Office of Military Government, United States.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were responsible for United States representation in multipartite negotiations on both the German national and Berlin command regime?

Mr. LEWIS. For radio broadcasting, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes, sir; and you assisted in the overall radio policy formulation for the United States Zone in Germany?

Mr. LEWIS. That is right, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you Berlin radio chief?

Mr. LEWIS. I beg pardon, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you Berlin chief?

Mr. LEWIS. That is right, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was it your job to control the organization of a new radio station in Berlin which later became known as RIAS?

Mr. LEWIS. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, did you in April 1946 become Acting Chief of the Radio Control Branch?

Mr. LEWIS. That is correct, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. That was OIC, State Department, assigned to the Office of Military Government, United States, in Germany?

Mr. LEWIS. That is correct, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. In that job did you direct the rehabilitation of German radio?

Mr. LEWIS. I did, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. It was your job to have safeguards against utilization of German radio as a primary propaganda weapon of the central regime?

Mr. LEWIS. That is correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. It was your job to create a free discussion radio with the freedom of expression?

Mr. LEWIS. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. You also established a radio station in Berlin to help United States occupation policy; is that correct?

Mr. LEWIS. That is correct, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that RIAS?

Mr. LEWIS. In its beginning it was called Drahtfunk; it became RIAS, radio in the United States sector.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, you subsequently became Chief of the Radio Branch at \$8,800 a year?

Mr. LEWIS. That is correct, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. That was in September 1946?

Mr. LEWIS. Just a moment, sir. [Referring to documents.] That is right. September—

Mr. SOURWINE. During that period—beg pardon?

Mr. LEWIS. Pardon me, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. LEWIS. I have a date here—from the 22d of September 1946.

Mr. SOURWINE. You held that job until the middle of October 1949?

Mr. LEWIS. That is correct, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were Chief of the Radio Branch?

Mr. LEWIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You directed the supervision of German broadcasting in the United States occupation area?

Mr. LEWIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You supervised military government radio activities—a Berlin station, RIAS?

Mr. LEWIS. That is right, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Formulated and directed the implementation of policy governing radio broadcasting in Germany?

Mr. LEWIS. I did, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, after that did you become Chief of the Radio Branch at a still higher salary?

Mr. LEWIS (consulting documents). I seem to have run off the form—

Mr. SOURWINE. On October 16, 1949, you became Chief of the Radio Branch at a salary of \$9,150 a year and continued in that job with grade promotions until you reached a salary of \$9,450 a year at the beginning of 1951?

Mr. LEWIS (consulting documents). You are still ahead of me. That would be approximately correct. I don't have the record from here.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right, sir. Do you speak any foreign languages, Mr. Lewis?

Mr. LEWIS. My German—

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you speak any German when you got the job that took you overseas for OWI?

Mr. LEWIS. Not very much.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you speak any foreign languages when you were in charge of language control?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you ever a foreign correspondent?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you ever a reporter?

Mr. LEWIS. A reporter?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes, sir.

Mr. LEWIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you a reporter at any time subsequent to your work on the Brooklyn Eagle?

Mr. LEWIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did the Civil Service Commission make any protest with regard to your promotion to control editor paying you \$5,600 a year?

Mr. LEWIS. There was a little bit of difficulty on it because my previous earnings had not been high—and the only answer to that was that—that I had been unfortunately on a low-paid newspaper.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are talking about the New York Daily News?

Mr. LEWIS. I beg your pardon?

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you talking about the New York Daily News?

Mr. LEWIS. The New York Daily News; what I earned there was approximately what I received as a starting salary.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes. I just wanted to make clear what newspaper, when you were talking about a "low-paid newspaper."

Mr. LEWIS. Well, on the Brooklyn Eagle during the depression years we had received a number of 10-percent pay cuts from the Brooklyn Eagle, forcing the pay down.

Mr. SOURWINE. What did you receive in salary on the New York Daily News?

Mr. LEWIS. I think, sir, \$75 a week.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know that the regional director of the second civil-service region had addressed the acting director of per-

sonnel of the Office of War Information, December 19, 1944, as follows:

Reference is made to your request for the prior approval of the proposed promotion of Mr. Charles S. Lewis from control editor CAF-11, \$3,800 per annum, to central control editor CAF-13, \$5,600 per annum.

According to the information at the disposal of this office Mr. Lewis' experience prior to his appointment to your agency in November 1943 was as a copy reader. There is no indication that his experience was at a level of responsibility commensurate with the duties to be performed in the position to which you propose to promote him. Inasmuch as it is the opinion of this office that Mr. Lewis does not meet the recruiting standards of the proposed position the promotion has been disapproved.

Mr. LEWIS. There was a good deal of argument over that, sir, and the Civil Service Commission was acquainted with the responsibilities of a copy reader and that the responsibilities of a copy reader are not mean.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you did get the promotion?

Mr. LEWIS. I did get the promotion, sir, because I was doing the job.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have any trouble with your subsequent promotions to higher salaries?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir; not that I know of.

Mr. SOURWINE. After this first difficulty there wasn't any more after that?

Mr. LEWIS. Not that I know of, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who was responsible? Who was responsible for your first promotion, sir, in OWI? Do you know?

Mr. LEWIS. I do not know, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. While you were at the OWI in New York, did you know Joe Barnes?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir. I think Joe Barnes left the OWI by the time I moved from basic—from the news operation to the policy side.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you didn't know him?

Mr. LEWIS. I did not know him.

Mr. SOURWINE. And he had nothing to do with your promotions at any time?

Mr. LEWIS. Not that I know, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, when you went from the New York office to San Francisco as special representative of the Director, who was the Director whose special representative you were?

Mr. LEWIS. Ed Barry was the Director, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Of OWI?

Mr. LEWIS. Of the Overseas Division of OWI under Elmer Davis.

Mr. SOURWINE. And it was as his special representative that you went to San Francisco?

Mr. LEWIS. That's correct, sir; for my particular talents on that particular job.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, this form 34 which I read to you from, referring to the reorganization of the San Francisco office said:

On the latter being dispatched to the Pacific coast as special representative of Director, OWI.

Now, who was the Director of OWI at that time; that is, in 1945, in the spring?

Mr. LEWIS. That would have been Elmer Davis, I believe.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, did you go to San Francisco as personal representative of Elmer Davis, the Director of OWI?

Mr. LEWIS. I must have, sir. Those were my orders.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you get your orders directly from Mr. Davis?

Mr. LEWIS. Not personally, sir. They were orders that came to me and empowered me to do a certain job in San Francisco.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, when you were in San Francisco in charge of this reorganization of the San Francisco office, did you meet Owen Lattimore?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Wasn't he attached to the San Francisco office of OWI at the time?

Mr. LEWIS. That I do not know, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You don't even know whether he had a job with OWI at that time? Is that right?

Mr. LEWIS. I did not know, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know whether he ever had a job with OWI?

Mr. LEWIS. I understand so, sir. I think he was a consultant with OWI.

Mr. SOURWINE. That's your best recollection?

Mr. LEWIS. That's my best recollection.

Mr. SOURWINE. But you reorganized the San Francisco office without having any contact with him?

Mr. LEWIS. That's correct, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You went out there as special representative for Elmer Davis but you didn't meet Owen Lattimore while you were out there?

Mr. LEWIS. Correct, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, sir, under whom in the direct line of control and authority did you serve while you were overseas? I am sure there were some changes in that. Will you just tell us the progression in that?

Mr. LEWIS. Do you mean, sir, who was Chief of the Radio Branch when I was Deputy Chief?

Mr. SOURWINE. That would be one instance, yes.

Mr. LEWIS. That's right. The Chief of the Radio Branch when I was Deputy Chief was Adrian Murphy.

The CHAIRMAN. Adrian who, sir?

Mr. LEWIS. Adrian Murphy, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. LEWIS. And Adrian Murphy returned to the States. His successor was Gerald Maulsby.

Mr. SOURWINE. Will you spell that?

Mr. LEWIS. M-a-u-l-s-b-y.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was he the only Chief of the Radio Branch under whom you served?

Mr. LEWIS. That is correct. Then I became Acting Chief of the Radio Branch and worked directly under Brigadier General McClure.

Mr. SOURWINE. McCloy?

Mr. LEWIS. McClure.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. LEWIS. Robert McClure.

Mr. SOURWINE. Then?

Mr. LEWIS. His successor in that position was Col. Gordon Textor, T-e-x-t-o-r. And Colonel Textor was succeeded in that position by Ralph Nicholson.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes; and then?

Mr. LEWIS. Who in turn was succeeded by Shephard Stone.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, did you come under the control in any way of General Howley?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir. I was Staff Headquarters and General Howley was Berlin District Military Government Commander. We had the usual channels and line of command with our Military Government Regulations giving Radio Branch a lateral channel for policy and general assistance to the various district military commanders who had the administrative responsibility for the radio operations.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you come under General Clay?

Mr. LEWIS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What position did Colonel Heimlich hold?

Mr. LEWIS. William Heimlich was Director of RIAS for a period of time, winding up in the fall of 1949.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any trouble, any disagreements, with Colonel Heimlich?

Mr. LEWIS. I did, sir. I had received instructions from my superiors to place into effect some urgent economies to cut down on the operation, that is, the cost of the operation of the radio station in Berlin, and Heimlich failed to and refused to carry out the instructions.

The CHAIRMAN. Colonel Heimlich operated RIAS for a period of 2 years, did he not?

Mr. LEWIS. That would be correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, was that under your direction? Was he under you?

Mr. LEWIS. Well, he was responsible in two directions, to the district commander, which would be then Colonel Howley, and to me for policy. So the actual direction of the station came out of the higher headquarters.

As a result of these difficulties we finally did shift the Station RIAS into a direct administrative responsibility of the higher headquarters. That was done in the State Department takeover.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, there is an instance of another radio transmitter for RIAS, that was at the beginning of the blockade, that was shipped into Western Germany. Do you recall that incident?

Mr. LEWIS. I do, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, by whose orders was it shipped into Western Germany?

Mr. LEWIS. It was shifted—may I give this in my own words, please?

The CHAIRMAN. Sure.

Mr. LEWIS. This is an old chestnut which appeared in print in Common Sense magazine under Heimlich's name some while back.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, just tell us your side of it, please.

Mr. LEWIS. The blockade was coming on Berlin and the Soviets bit by bit were tightening their grasp on the city and cutting down the transportation into the city.

At that point, we in military government did not know exactly what was going to occur. There was a possibility, we thought, of having to give up Berlin and having to leave for the West.

We, at that time, did not have much in the form of arms. We had completely demobilized.

I made a recommendation which went up to General Clay to fly this transmitter, which was nearing completion in a Berlin factory, to the West so that it would not fall into Russian hands if we would leave the city, and it was on that basis that a secret project was undertaken to fly the transmitter to Western Germany.

We did do that and kept it down there. That was a 40-kilowatt transmitter. RIAS was operating on 20,000 watts and the 40 kilowatts had been—

The CHAIRMAN. Now, where was the transmitter to be put in use when it got to Western Germany?

Mr. LEWIS. It was flown down there for safety so that we would have a piece of equipment.

The CHAIRMAN. It was not to be put in use?

Mr. LEWIS. We did not know what we were going to do with it, other than to take it out of danger. However, we did have the transmitter down there and, when the blockade was over, we had an opportunity to purchase a 100,000-watt transmitter for RIAS, which we did; and so we had a 40-kilowatt transmitter standing by in the West.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, if this transmitter had stayed in Berlin how much stronger would RIAS have been during the blockade?

Mr. LEWIS. I don't think it would have been on the air during the blockade.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't think it would have been on the air?

Mr. LEWIS. I don't think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Now, do you know Hans Bruno Meyer?

Mr. LEWIS. Who, sir?

The CHAIRMAN. Hans Bruno Meyer.

Mr. LEWIS. Meyer?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. LEWIS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What position did he have?

Mr. LEWIS. Hans Meyer had a position as one of my assistants in Berlin.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know where he is now?

Mr. LEWIS. I believe he is here in Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. In Washington?

Mr. LEWIS. That's right, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether he gave any information to the Russians or not?

Mr. LEWIS. I don't believe so, sir. I don't see how it would have been possible.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you initially exercise direct control over RIAS, Mr. Lewis, or did you have someone under you who exercised that direct control?

Mr. LEWIS. Because I did not have the fluency of language necessary for the job, I ruled myself out of the actual operation and was only

in a supervisory capacity. I did have—and it was up to me to obtain the initial staff at the station and to find replacements thereafter.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who did you initially select as Director of RIAS?

Mr. LEWIS. Edmund Schechter.

Mr. SOURWINE. Would you spell it?

Mr. LEWIS. S-c-h-e-c-h-t-e-r.¹

Mr. SOURWINE. Was he a German?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir; he was born in Vienna, as I understand.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, who succeeded him?

Mr. LEWIS. Ruth Norden.

Mr. SOURWINE. N-o-r-d-e-n?

Mr. LEWIS. N-o-r-d-e-n.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was she a German?

Mr. LEWIS. Of German origin, I believe.

Mr. SOURWINE. Why do you say of German origin? Was she naturalized in some other country?

Mr. LEWIS. She is an American citizen.

Mr. SOURWINE. She was an American citizen?

Mr. LEWIS. Oh, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, that's what I was trying to bring out.

Mr. LEWIS. Oh, excuse me.

Mr. SOURWINE. And who succeeded her?

Mr. LEWIS. Very briefly Milton Prat for about a month or two.

Mr. SOURWINE. And who succeeded him?

Mr. LEWIS. William Heimlich.

Mr. SOURWINE. And who succeeded him?

Mr. LEWIS. Fred G. Taylor.

Mr. SOURWINE. And who succeeded him?

Mr. LEWIS. Gordon Ewing, E-w-i-n-g.

Mr. SOURWINE. And did Mr. Ewing continue to serve until the end of your period in charge over there?

Mr. LEWIS. That is right, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, did you select all of those people yourself?

Mr. LEWIS. In consultation with the Berlin district authorities, I selected the personnel and made the recommendations for them to take the jobs. We had to have concurrence on that by both parties.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that true in the case of Colonel Heimlich? You recommended him for the job?

Mr. LEWIS. I recommended him for the job.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, did you fire any of those people?

Mr. LEWIS. Did I fire any of them?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. LEWIS. I recommended the removal of Heimlich.

Mr. SOURWINE. Why?

Mr. LEWIS. Because he refused to carry out the instructions for reorganization of RIAS for budgetary reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. What instructions?

Mr. LEWIS. The instructions were specifically to cut down on the high pay given to certain members of the German staff.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who? What members?

Mr. LEWIS. There was one that I recall, a Hungarian journalist, who did a nightly 5-minute spot, satirical spot, and also some other writing for the station; and, in a period of something like 10 months, earned between 50,000 and 60,000 marks.

¹ On his application to the State Department (p. 1512) Mr. Lewis spelled the name S-c-h-e-c-t-e-r.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was that in American money?

Mr. LEWIS. A lot more than is paid here for any commentator.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was it?

Mr. LEWIS. Still the equivalent of about 4 marks to the dollar.

Mr. SOURWINE. If it was 50,000 marks at 4 marks to the dollar, it would be \$12,500, wouldn't it?

Mr. LEWIS. That would be correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. And that was the rate of exchange of the mark at that time?

Mr. LEWIS. That was the rate of exchange of the mark at that time. That's very high pay for radio.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, is that the only reason that you recommended the discharge of Colonel Heimlich?

Mr. LEWIS. Well, that and a number of other reorganization steps for economy purposes which he refused to carry out.

Mr. SOURWINE. I was asking you about the other reorganization steps and all you had named so far was the high salaries of certain persons, and then you named one person—You didn't name him, as a matter of fact.

Suppose you name him now.

Mr. LEWIS. Well, I will try to.

I am sorry, I can't come up with that right now. If I may be permitted to obtain that information, I think that information is all available in the State Department.

Mr. SOURWINE. You don't remember who it was?

Mr. LEWIS. I remember the individual and I remember the program; I can't recall the name.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, were there any other persons whose names you remember whom you told Heimlich to cut the salaries of and he wouldn't do it?

Mr. LEWIS. Yes; there was another. There was a woman singer on the staff there.

Mr. SOURWINE. And do you recall her name?

Mr. LEWIS. Her first name was Christine. Her last name currently is Heimlich.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are there any others?

Mr. LEWIS. No. There were some others; I am sorry, I don't have the information available.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, you stated Ruth Norden was an American citizen. Do you know how she obtained citizenship?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know that she was an American citizen?

Mr. LEWIS. I know she wouldn't have been able to work for the Government overseas if she were not an American citizen.

Mr. SOURWINE. Wasn't she, as a matter of fact, a British subject?

Mr. LEWIS. Not that I know, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Would she have been able to work overseas for the American Government if she had been a British subject?

Mr. LEWIS. That's correct, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. She was German-born?

Mr. LEWIS. I believe so.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know her brother, Heinz Norden?

Mr. LEWIS. I met him, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was he employed by RIAS?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. At no time?

Mr. LEWIS. At no time.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Gus Mathieu, M-a-t-h-i-e-u?

Mr. LEWIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was he employed by RIAS?

Mr. LEWIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you employ him?

Mr. LEWIS. I did, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, did you know that—did you ever know of charges that Ruth Norden, her brother Heinz, and Gus Mathieu were pro-Communist?

Mr. LEWIS. I do recall that Norden had some difficulty of that nature and did have a case that he fought. I think he was suspended and reinstated.

As for allegations of procommunism, or pro-Communist attitudes, by Norden and Mathieu, I had heard something to that effect. I discounted those rumors. They were never presented in any form of accusation, direct accusation, to my memory.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever hear the charge that Hans Bruno Meyer was pro-Communist or Communist?

Mr. LEWIS. I had heard something along that line of exactly the same character, but again nothing of any formal nature.

Hans Meyer did come to me in 1949 and tell me that he had been a Communist, a member of the Communist Party, and had broken away from the Communist Party, all during the same period of time that Mayor Reuter of Berlin was also. He reported that directly up the line to the State Department.

The CHAIRMAN. When was that time?

Mr. LEWIS. Beg your pardon. When was the time?

The CHAIRMAN. When was that time?

Mr. LEWIS. When Meyer was a Communist?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. LEWIS. He did not say exactly when that time was. He said simply that he was at the time when Mayor Reuter was a Communist, and that would have been, I assume, the early 1930's. I do not know, but Mayor Reuter's record is a public record.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know Mr. Meyer's address in Washington?

Mr. LEWIS. No, I do not, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. When did you leave Government employment, Mr. Lewis?

Mr. LEWIS. I left December 8, 1952.

Did you get that, sir?

Mr. SOURWINE. No, I did not; I'm sorry.

Mr. LEWIS. The effective date of my resignation was December 8, 1952.

Mr. SOURWINE. Why did you resign, Mr. Lewis?

Mr. LEWIS. I was advised that charges, loyalty charges, would be preferred against me. I refused to accept the charges and resigned. My resignation was accepted with prejudice.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know why Mr. Meyer resigned from Government employment?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you, at any time during your Government employment, disclose the fact that you had been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We will take a recess now until 2:15.

(Whereupon, at 12:30 p. m., the subcommittee recessed until 2:15 of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

By request, I am going to place in the record a letter which I have received from Hon. Arthur Hays Sulzberger, of the New York Times.

DEAR SENATOR EASTLAND: I have just had a report that a New York Times employee, Melvin Barnett, appeared before your committee and refused to answer the questions put to him.

I enclose herewith a copy of the letter which I have just signed, advising Mr. Barnett that his employment by the New York Times has ceased.

Faithfully yours,

ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER.

I also place in the record a copy of the letter from Mr. Sulzberger to Mr. Melvin Barnett.

(The letters dated July 13 are as follows:)

THE NEW YORK TIMES,
WASHINGTON BUREAU,
Washington, D. C., July 13, 1955.

Hon. JAMES O. EASTLAND,
Chairman of the Subcommittee,
Senate Internal Security Committee,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR EASTLAND: I have just had a report that a New York Times employee, Melvin Barnett, appeared before your committee and refused to answer the questions put to him.

I enclose herewith a copy of the letter which I have just signed, advising Mr. Barnett that his employment by the New York Times has ceased.

Faithfully yours,

ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER.

JULY 13, 1955.

Mr. MELVIN BARNETT,
93 Remsen Street, Brooklyn 1, N. Y.

DEAR MR. BARNETT: I have learned to my regret that at your appearance today before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee you refused to answer questions put to you in connection with your alleged association with the Communist Party. The course of conduct which you have followed since your name was first mentioned in this connection culminating in your action today has caused the Times to lose confidence in you as a member of its news staff. Accordingly, this will serve as notice of termination of your employment.

I have requested the auditor to pay any sums that may be due you.

Yours truly,

ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER.

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES S. LEWIS—Resumed

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Lewis, you will remember that this morning you testified that a story with regard to the removal of the 40,000-watt radio station from West Berlin had been printed in Common Sense. We have been unable to locate this story. Can you tell us when that was printed in Common Sense?

Mr. LEWIS. I do not have the date of it—the date of publication on that. I do know that the publication, sometime after the return of Mr. Heimlich to the States, did create queries to Germany, where I was, for the full story of the incident.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you sure it was Common Sense that published this story?

Mr. LEWIS. It seemed to me, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you see the story yourself?

Mr. LEWIS. I believe I did, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did anyone tell you that it was published in Common Sense?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir, to the best of my recollection it was Common Sense.

Mr. SOURWINE. Has anyone recalled this to you recently?

Mr. LEWIS. Oh, no, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. I wondered if they had—you did not mention it in executive session. I wondered if it just had come to your mind.

Mr. LEWIS. We had not got into the aspect of Mr. Heimlich, which, incidentally, if I may be permitted to say, there is absolutely no personal feeling against Mr. Heimlich on my part.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did I ask you this morning if you knew where Hans Bruno Meyer is now?

Mr. LEWIS. Yes, sir. And I answered, I believe, in Washington.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know what he is doing here?

Mr. LEWIS. I believe he is a correspondent for some German radio stations—one in particular, I think, is Radio Stuttgart.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know where he lives?

Mr. LEWIS. I do not, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. How did you learn that Mr. Meyer was living here, sir?

Mr. LEWIS. I think I received—yes, I did, I received an announcement of a wedding—an announcement with a Washington address.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, sir, during the time preceding Mr. Heimlich's duration as director of RIAS, did you have anything yourself to do with the control of the programs actually sent out over this station?

Mr. LEWIS. Certainly, sir. I was responsible for the policy going through the station, and the station operated under that policy.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you deal with actual programs and scripts?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir. Policy in relation to the planning of particular types of programs, whether we would put a certain type of program on or not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you handle incoming mail to the station, to RIAS?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you see such mail?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir. The incoming mail to the station went to the director of the station.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know anything about the volume of such mail from listeners?

Mr. LEWIS. It was considerable.

Mr. SOURWINE. What do you mean by that?

Mr. LEWIS. Well, the station did receive a lot of mail from the Soviet zone of Germany, which had been posted in West Berlin, information of one sort or another.

There was, of course, the usual amount of mail that a radio station does receive. And the Germans are prolific writers.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, that does not give us any idea.

Mr. LEWIS. That is rather hard. I beg your pardon?

Mr. SOURWINE. Was it hundreds per week or thousands per week or what?

Mr. LEWIS. I am sorry. I cannot say exactly how heavy that mail was.

Mr. SOURWINE. You never checked up on that?

Mr. LEWIS. I never did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where were your headquarters while you were running RIAS?

Mr. LEWIS. My headquarters were until—were in Berlin at what was called OMGUS.

Mr. SOURWINE. That was the Office of the Military Government, United States?

Mr. LEWIS. That is right. In the Selenburg district of Berlin. The radio station headquarters was in another section—another part of the United States sector of Berlin.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were those headquarters of OMGUS in what was called the Compound?

Mr. LEWIS. That is right, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you subsequently move your headquarters to another place?

Mr. LEWIS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where?

Mr. LEWIS. Headquarters moved to Bad Nauheim in the spring of 1949, I believe.

Mr. SOURWINE. How far away was that from Berlin?

Mr. LEWIS. Overnight by train or a matter of about 2 hours or so by plane.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know how far it was in miles—was it 200, 300?

Mr. LEWIS. Between 100 or 200 miles.

Mr. SOURWINE. Referring back to the incident of the 40,000-watt transmitter which, by your orders, was shipped from Berlin to West Germany, to what point was it shipped?

Mr. LEWIS. To the Munich region—just where in Munich—I believe a small town outside of Munich.

Mr. SOURWINE. How long did it remain there?

Mr. LEWIS. It remained there for—I believe less than a year—I am not sure exactly how long it remained there.

Mr. SOURWINE. While it was there was it crated up?

Mr. LEWIS. It had been—in its original crates from the factory.

Mr. SOURWINE. It was protected from the weather?

Mr. LEWIS. We did have an incident there where there was some damage from water in the warehouse.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where was it moved from there?

Mr. LEWIS. It was moved from there to Hof, in northern Hesse, right on the edge of the Soviet zone of Germany and also the edge of Czechoslovakia.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was done with it there?

Mr. LEWIS. That was part of a project to establish a multilingual radio broadcasting operation, with the transmitter at Hof and the studios in Offenbach across the river from Frankfurt.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was it used for that purpose?

Mr. LEWIS. It was not, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Why not?

Mr. LEWIS. Because of lack of funds. We had a currency reform in Germany which wiped out the Information Services division's vast mark holdings, upon which we had expected to operate the station.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that 40,000-watt transmitter, so far as you know, ever put into use?

Mr. LEWIS. Certainly, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. When and where?

Mr. LEWIS. May I refresh my recollection?

Mr. SOURWINE. Of course.

Mr. LEWIS. On that—I may have something on that here. [Witness looks at documents.]

I believe—I do not have the record on the date when that transmitter went into operation. It was within 1 month of going on the air when I received the instructions to abandon the project, and that was at the time of the currency control in Germany. I believe that was in the spring of 1949.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, then, the transmitter never went on the air?

Mr. LEWIS. It did go on the air. I received permission to operate the transmitter as a relay station for RIAS.

Mr. SOURWINE. When was that, approximately?

Mr. LEWIS. At that time, sir—as I say, the transmitter was within 1 month of going on the air. We were ready to go on the air at the time I received the order to abandon the project.

I argued for and obtained permission to put the transmitter into operation as a relay station, and it went on the air as scheduled. The only part of the project that did not go through was the broadcast.

Mr. SOURWINE. Approximately 2 years after you sent the transmitter out of West Berlin it went on the air as a transmitter of the station located near the Czech border and operating as a relay station for RIAS; is that right?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir; approximately 1 year.

Mr. SOURWINE. It was only 1 year later?

Mr. LEWIS. That is what I believe—the blockade was in 1948, and the currency reform, I believe, was 1949.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. That is your best recollection?

Mr. LEWIS. That is my best recollection.

The CHAIRMAN. Your best recollection is that it went in operation in 1949?

Mr. LEWIS. That is right, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What part of the year, do you recall?

Mr. LEWIS. I do not recall. I believe it was spring.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Mr. SOURWINE. You say that the project was for a bilingual broadcasting station—what languages had you proposed to be used?

Mr. LEWIS. Czech, Polish, also English, and that at the outset, and further development beyond that.

Mr. SOURWINE. This was in 1949 that you proposed this, or 1948?

Mr. LEWIS. 1948.

Mr. SOURWINE. You had proposed in 1948 a bilingual station?

Mr. LEWIS. It must have been the end of 1948.

Mr. SOURWINE. As a matter of fact, did you not reject the proposal for a bilingual radio station?

Mr. LEWIS. Never, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever reject proposals for bilingual broadcasts over RIAS?

Mr. LEWIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was the difference in your mind?

Mr. LEWIS. RIAS was operating in the German service and building an audience in Berlin and Eastern Germany among Germans. I was opposed to putting other languages on the air, for the very simple reason that we would lose, from my point of view, we would lose the German audience.

Mr. SOURWINE. You say it was operating as a German service. Everybody knew that the American Government was running the station; did they not?

Mr. LEWIS. German-language station, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes; it was a German-language station, but everyone knew it was an American Government-operated station.

Mr. LEWIS. That is right, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. After Mr. Heimlich was made director of RIAS, did you continue to exercise control over the station as his superior?

Mr. LEWIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. For how long? Throughout his tenure?

Mr. LEWIS. Throughout his tenure.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was he at any time ever given complete autonomy with respect to the employees of RIAS operating under him?

Mr. LEWIS. I do not recall so, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you remember persons named Barbour, Shub, and Von Varady, who were employed by Mr. Heimlich?

Mr. LEWIS. Yes; I remember Von Varady, because that incidentally is the name that I could not recall of the man who was doing a 5-minute spot once a day.

Mr. SOURWINE. Oh, yes. I will question about that. I am glad you brought me back to that.

On the question of these three men, whom I just named, Barbour, Shub, and Von Varady—

Mr. LEWIS. Barbour?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. LEWIS. Excuse me.

Mr. SOURWINE. I would like to ask whether you barred them after Mr. Heimlich left.

Mr. LEWIS. I went up to the station and brought in the new director of the station, installed him in the office, and did conduct a house-cleaning, and in that did not specifically fire Von Varady, but I believe offered him employment at a considerably different rate than he had been receiving.

Now, as to Barbour, there was a Barbour as a United States officer on the station on the staff. If that is the person, no, sir, I did not bar him. And the third one?

Mr. SOURWINE. I asked about Barbour, Shub, and Von Varady.

Mr. LEWIS. Shub, I do not recall.

Mr. SOURWINE. S-h-u-b.

Mr. LEWIS. Shub—Boris Shub. No, sir; I did not. I very highly valued his services and wanted him to stay on the job there.

Mr. SOURWINE. Would he not do it?

Mr. LEWIS. He wanted to come back home.

Mr. SOURWINE. I see. Did you at any time oppose the dramatization of the trial of the anti-Communist leaders in Czechoslovakia as a program over RIAS?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever reprimand the staff of RIAS for planning a counterdemonstration to a Red rally in East Berlin?

Mr. LEWIS. I did reprimand the United States staff for an incident that occurred at that time. The station had, in my opinion, gone out of bounds in rushing a decision as to the location of the rally. And the British had been opposed to having the rally at the Brandenburger Thor, the Brandenburger Gate, because of it being that close to the Soviet, to Red Army troops, and, well, the possibility of things going off. The gun was jumped by the station and the location was announced. The rally was held and one person was killed, a person who—a young man, I believe, who had climbed the Brandenburger Gate and torn down a Red flag there.

I did call the American staff together and bawled them out. I said that they had gone out and beyond their authority and that I did feel a life perhaps had been lost unnecessarily.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever differ with Boris Shub over a program he had developed for causing desertions from the Soviet side?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir. If that is it—a rather spectacular program. I believe it is still on the air over there.

Mr. SOURWINE. The question was whether you differed with Shub about it.

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. Now going back to the question of your employment by the Brooklyn Eagle, I would like to ask whether, at the time you were with the Eagle, you contributed to the Eagle Eye, the publication of the Communist faction.

Mr. LEWIS. I do not believe so, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And how long were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LEWIS. For a matter of several months, 2 or 3, I believe.

The CHAIRMAN. Just 2 or 3 months?

Mr. LEWIS. That is to the best of my recollection.

The CHAIRMAN. Did I understand you to testify that you resigned rather than submit to a security investigation?

Mr. LEWIS. I resigned rather than to accept a hearing, a loyalty hearing, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Why?

Mr. LEWIS. I had been living with this dark secret of having been a member of the Communist Party, and I still was trying not to divulge the secret.

I am afraid I had a guilt complex on that. That is my only explanation. I was scared, frightened.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you receive information that Hans Bruno Meyer had tried to get entry into the United States in 1941 for a friend of Gerhardt Eisler?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. To your knowledge, were loyalty charges preferred against Meyer in 1952?

Mr. LEWIS. Not to my knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he an American citizen?

Mr. LEWIS. I believe so, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. I think you have mentioned a man named Ehlers who worked for you at RIAS in the early days of the occupation.

Mr. LEWIS. I believe that is Wilhelm Ehlers. He did. And I think he, later on, died while working for the station.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you ever told that while he was working for RIAS he also worked for a Soviet-controlled newspaper?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was your chief producer a man named Korngiebel?

Mr. LEWIS. That is right, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did Korngiebel ever refuse to do an anti-Soviet broadcast?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir; not to my knowledge. And I doubt it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Had you employed him?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir. I believe he had been employed—just who hired him I do not know, but he had been on the staff for a long while.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have a woman working for you whose name was Ruby Parson—Mrs. Ruby Parson?

Mr. LEWIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was she in charge of personnel at RIAS?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir; she was—

Mr. SOURWINE. What was her job?

Mr. LEWIS. She was my deputy in Berlin.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know why she retired from RIAS?

Mr. LEWIS. She left—she left the Government employment when—her husband was working for the Government over there at the same time, and the reason given was that no two members of a family could hold jobs at the same time in this takeover of the work from military government by the State Department.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have any knowledge at any time of loyalty charges preferred against Mrs. Parson?

Mr. LEWIS. I did not. I think I had heard that she had had some difficulty of that nature concerning scripts at the Voice of America.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know she had retired from Government service rather than face a loyalty hearing?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do not know whether that was true?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have a man working for you who was named Herman Chevalier?

Mr. LEWIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know why he resigned from RIAS?

Mr. LEWIS. For a moment I really don't—Chevalier was about to marry a German girl, from Stuttgart, and was taking her to the States. As I recall, there was a rule against having German wives of American officers in the operation.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know of any loyalty charges preferred against Mr. Chevalier?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you ever been told that he had resigned from RIAS rather than face a loyalty charge?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Had you employed Chevalier?

Mr. LEWIS. I had brought Chevalier up to Berlin from Stuttgart where he had been working at the radio station there.

Mr. SOURWINE. You had selected Mrs. Parson as your deputy; had you not?

Mr. LEWIS. That is right, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have a woman working for you whose name was Ruth Gambke?

Mr. LEWIS. She was a program director of RIAS.

Mr. SOURWINE. Had you selected her for that spot?

Mr. LEWIS. No; I had not. She had been with the operation from the outset.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you ever informed that she had close connections with the Soviet-sponsored Radio Berlin?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did the Social Democratic Party of West Berlin ever protest to you or to your knowledge to anyone else that RIAS was pro-Communist when it was under the direction of your subordinate, Mrs. Norden?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir; I did not have any knowledge of a protest by the Social Democratic Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have a protest of any kind that RIAS was pro-Communist?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever have a protest or hear of a protest by Karl Hubert Schwennicke, president of the Free German Party, that RIAS was pro-Communist in the early days of the occupation?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you get security clearance while you were working for OMGUS and HICOG?

Mr. LEWIS. I assume so, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you not know whether you had security clearance?

Mr. LEWIS. Well, people are not told that they are cleared.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you ever told anything about being cleared for security?

Mr. LEWIS. No; the only way in which I figured that I had been cleared for security was at one time, while with military government, receiving a top secret card.

Mr. SOURWINE. A top secret card?

Mr. LEWIS. A card entitling me to see top secret material.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who issued that card?

Mr. LEWIS. I do not recall. I could only guess at it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that renewed periodically?

Mr. LEWIS. To my recollection it was for as long as the system was in effect.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you, sir, ever suspended for a violation of security?

Mr. LEWIS. I was suspended for a period of, I believe, two days in the spring of 1946.

May I tell you about it?

THE CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

MR. LEWIS. I came into the office one morning and was asked to go up and see General McClure, who was then the director of Information Services Division, and he showed me a communication from the Inspector General's office which cited a serious security violation in the Radio Branch, listed a long number of documents which had been found in an unsecure position there. The documents had been left in a cardboard carton which had been brought up from Bad Hamburg, the previous headquarters, by the previous chief of the Radio Branch. And I had never seen the carton, or if I had seen it, paid no attention to it.

It was in a corner of the office and had been there for quite a period of time until a security check—somebody making a security check, had opened the carton and found all of these documents.

Since the incident occurred in my office, I felt I was responsible and therefore said that I would take whatever blame was forthcoming for that security violation.

My superior felt—well, had told me if this was my secretary's fault that she should be fired immediately.

I felt that I was responsible since it just happened in my office.

MR. SOURWINE. Where was this carton, Mr. Lewis, with relation to your own desk?

MR. LEWIS. Well, I do not think it was anywhere near my desk. I believe it was in another part—there were two offices—2 or 3 offices in the Radio Branch. I do not even believe it was in my own office, my own personal office.

MR. SOURWINE. You had said in your office, and I wondered if the record should not show just where it was.

MR. LEWIS. Well, it was in the Radio Branch. Whether it was exactly in my office—I do not believe it was in my office where my desk was.

MR. SOURWINE. Did not anybody ever tell you where the carton was found?

MR. LEWIS. Yes, sir; but I do not remember exactly where it was.

MR. SOURWINE. You were suspended for a security breach because of that carton and you do not remember where they told you it was?

MR. LEWIS. I am sorry, my recollection does not go to the exact location of it.

MR. SOURWINE. Do you remember for sure whether it was physically in the room where you had your desk or in some other room?

MR. LEWIS. That I do not know, sir. I do know this, that there had been, in the move-up of the rest of the Radio Branch to Berlin, a good deal of equipment, filing cabinets and the like including, oh, boxes of papers of an unclassified nature which just came sweeping into the place.

MR. SOURWINE. How long was this, after the move, that the security breach was noted?

MR. LEWIS. Oh, it was a couple of months after that.

MR. SOURWINE. Were the cartons and so forth and the filing cabinets still lying around the way they had been when they were moved?

MR. LEWIS. No, sir. Each of us who had a job in that office had immediate responsibility for his own files.

MR. SOURWINE. I see.

Mr. LEWIS. And the chief engineer had his files, and he took care of them. These were some files of the preceding radio chief who, in the interim, had left.

Mr. SOURWINE. How many people had desks in the same room with you?

Mr. LEWIS. Well, at that time I believe Richard Condon had, one other person had a desk with me in my office.

Mr. SOURWINE. These were not his files?

Mr. LEWIS. They were not his files.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, sir, you were asked in executive testimony, was Heimlich one of your people, and you replied, "That is right." Is that correct?

Mr. LEWIS. That is right, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you regard Colonel Heimlich as one of your people?

Mr. LEWIS. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were asked, when you were given authority over RIAS, was there any other long-wave station in American hands that reached East Germany and you replied:

There was nothing, and for quite a few years I was more than concerned about that and wanted to establish a multilingual station in Germany.

Is that correct?

Mr. LEWIS. Could I have that back again, please?

Mr. SOURWINE (reading):

There was nothing and for quite a few years I was more than concerned about that and wanted to establish a multilingual station in Germany.

Mr. LEWIS. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. I asked you, "Who was in charge of RIAS at that time?" and you said Heimlich was the director of RIAS at that time.

And you were then asked, "Did he concur in flying the 40-watt transmitter out of Berlin?"

And you replied, "He neither concurred nor protested or anything of that sort.

And you were asked, "You mean, he did not know about it?"

And you said, "He knew about it."

And you were asked, "After it was flown or before?"

And you said, "He knew about it before."

And you were asked, "Did you consult him?"

And you replied, "Of course, we discussed the whole problem."

Was that correct?

Mr. LEWIS. That is correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were asked were you actively engaged with the work of RIAS at that time, that is, November 1947, or did you simply exercise a sort of remote control, and you replied, "Well, I never had remote control of the station. I felt, well, it was my baby, and I worked with it all of the time."

Mr. LEWIS. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that right?

Mr. LEWIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. I believe you have been asked in executive session if you knew Julia Older Bazer?

Mr. LEWIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you replied you did not?

Mr. LEWIS. That is right, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, Mrs. Bazer was in charge of the daily cable file to Moscow for OWI until some time in 1943—did you know that?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were employed by OWI in 1943?

Mr. LEWIS. I went to work with OWI in 1943, in November of 1943.

Mr. SOURWINE. In November of 1943.

Mr. LEWIS. November 23, to be exact.

Mr. SOURWINE. So that it is possible that Mrs. Bazer had left before you came?

Mr. LEWIS. It is possible. It is possible that she was there. There were a lot of people there.

Mr. SOURWINE. If she had been there and you had been a news editor, you would have known the person in charge of your Moscow cable, would you not?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You would not?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir. I was in the basic news operation which provided the basic material for the cable wireless division, and the cable wireless division was a separate entity.

Mr. SOURWINE. I see. Now, I have said Julia Older Bazer—I will just add, did you know a Julia Older?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. I might say Julia Older Bazer is the person who appeared before us in our hearings and repeatedly claimed the privilege of the fifth amendment with respect to Communist affiliations.

Were you ever informed, sir, respecting a complaint that the Belgian Minister, Spaak, had made a speech in Brussels on the Marshall plan, and that RIAS had carried most of the speech, but had left out this:

The United States is offering her help without any political strings attached. If the Soviet Union does not wish to comprehend this, then we must believe that she considers unemployment and misery as fertile soil for her expansion in Europe.

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you informed that on or about the same day, namely, November 5, 1947, there was a complaint that RIAS had carried the story of the flight from Hungary to Vienna of anti-Communist Leader Zoltan Pfeiffer, but that RIAS cut out the statement: "Pfeiffer's flight was preceded by a number of others, including Bela Varga, a former Speaker of the House, and Deszoe Sulyck, a leader of the now-dissolved Freedom Party"?

Mr. LEWIS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you apprized of the complaint that on or about the same time, namely, November 5, that RIAS had carried the complete text of a speech by Katikow and how Russia improved the lot of Berlin workers?

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you advised of a complaint on or about November 10 that after Social Democratic Leader Shumaker made an

anti-Communist speech, RIAS carried part of the speech but cut out this:

The Social Democratic Party is not prepared to become a German state set for the production of an anti-German play. The Social Democrats consider the German people too good to allow them to become an instrument of Russian politics. They are firm in the belief that it is impossible to find a common German point of view with the quislings of a foreign power.

Mr. LEWIS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions to ask of this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Call your next witness.

Mr. SOURWINE. Col. William Heimlich.

The CHAIRMAN. I thank you, Mr. Lewis.

Raise your right hand. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. HEIMLICH. I do.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM FRIEL HEIMLICH, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mr. SOURWINE. Will you give your full name, please?

Mr. HEIMLICH. My name is William Friel Heimlich.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where do you get the title "Colonel"?

Mr. HEIMLICH. I served in the Second World War, from the grade of lieutenant to the grade of colonel.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where are you now employed?

Mr. HEIMLICH. I am employed by the Gray Manufacturing Company of Hartford, Conn., stationed in Washington, D. C.

Mr. SOURWINE. And what is your address?

Mr. HEIMLICH. My address is 1021 Fifteenth Street NW.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you the same Colonel William Heimlich who was for a time director of radio station RIAS?

Mr. HEIMLICH. I am.

Mr. SOURWINE. Will you tell the committee how it came about, if you know, that you were named director of that station?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Upon the original insistence of General Howley, with the concurrence of General Clay and Mr. Lewis.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know why you were named director of that station?

Mr. HEIMLICH. There had been general dissatisfaction with the operation of radio RIAS. There was also a determination on the part of General Clay to answer the propaganda attacks of the Soviet Union and its Communist stooges, in East Germany and East Berlin, on American forces.

In order to answer those attacks, there had to be a strong anti-Communist flavor injected into the American propaganda effort.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were selected for the purpose of doing that job?

Mr. HEIMLICH. I was immediately available as one who was familiar with the situation in Germany and who had a professional radio background.

Mr. SOURWINE. This was at what time?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Early 1948, in January.

Mr. SOURWINE. To your knowledge, had there been any complaints about the way RIAS had been operated?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Yes, sir. There had been complaints registered to the Civil Affairs Branch of the Office of Military Government, Berlin sector, of which I was Deputy Director, Acting Director.

Mr. SOURWINE. What had been the source of those complaints, Colonel?

Mr. HEIMLICH. That there was a soft line being pursued toward communism over Radio RIAS in the guise of objectivity.

Mr. SOURWINE. I say, what was the source of those complaints, if you know?

Mr. HEIMLICH. From various German political leaders; from newspapermen, also.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you receive any instructions directly from General Howley at the time you were made director of RIAS?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. What were those instructions?

Mr. HEIMLICH. I received instructions from General Howley to assume the title of director of RIAS. Previously, Americans assigned to that station had had the title of "control officer." I was—

The CHAIRMAN. Who was General Howley?

Mr. HEIMLICH. General Howley was commandant of the city of Berlin, and representative of the United States Government on the allied commandatura, which controlled the city of Berlin.

I also received instructions from General Howley to immediately implement General Clay's directive to institute a hard policy against communism, to get rid of anyone who did not agree with that policy, and to make the station a proper instrument in our war against Communist ideology.

Mr. SOURWINE. How did you proceed to carry out those orders?

Mr. HEIMLICH. First I inspected the station, which was in a most deplorable state of mismanagement, disrepair. This was due to the fact that the station was housed in the old Telephone Building, which was located in the American sector. No better housing could be found for it at the moment, although Mr. Lewis had already directed that a new station be built and it was under construction.

The transmitter consisted of a broken-down mobile German transmitter, which had been used in the Balkans during World War II for the entertainment of German troops.

The personnel had been selected in the most—the German personnel—in the most slipshod manner. It was extremely difficult to obtain qualified radio personnel, and the RIAS budget was so small that qualified personnel could not be attracted to the station.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you discharge any individuals?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Yes, a considerable number of individuals were discharged almost immediately.

Mr. SOURWINE. For various reasons?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Because they indicated to me and to my German subordinates that they could not go along with the strong anti-Communist policy which I announced was my intention to instill in Radio RIAS.

There were several revolts of personnel, offering their resignations. The first time I talked them out of it. The second time, I told them I would accept all resignations from that point on, and did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know one Hans Bruno Meyer?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you employ him?

Mr. HEIMLICH. No, sir. He was employed by Mr. Lewis.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you discharge him?

Mr. HEIMLICH. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he come under your supervision in such a way that you could have been in a position to discharge him?

Mr. HEIMLICH. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Gus Mathieu?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you employ him?

Mr. HEIMLICH. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you discharge him?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Why?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Under orders of General Howley.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he tell you why?

Mr. HEIMLICH. General Howley believed that Mr. Mathieu was sympathetic to the Communist Party and to its aims and ideals.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know one Ruth Norden?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you employ her?

Mr. HEIMLICH. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you discharge her?

Mr. HEIMLICH. No, sir. She had departed Radio RIAS before I came there.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was she an American citizen?

Mr. HEIMLICH. To my knowledge, no, sir. I believe she was a British subject.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Edmund Schecter?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you employ him?

Mr. HEIMLICH. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you discharge him?

Mr. HEIMLICH. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was he connected with RIAS while you were there?

Mr. HEIMLICH. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Ruby Parson?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you employ her?

Mr. HEIMLICH. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you discharge her?

Mr. HEIMLICH. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was she connected with RIAS while you were there?

Mr. HEIMLICH. No, sir. She was assistant to Mr. Lewis.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Mr. Schecter to be pro-Communist?

Mr. HEIMLICH. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Mrs. Parson to be pro-Communist?

Mr. HEIMLICH. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know a man named Schuetze?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you employ him?

Mr. HEIMLICH. No, sir; I refused to employ him.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who was he?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Mr. Schuetze had been a member of the German Communist Party until the rise of Hitler in 1933. At that time he fled to Soviet Russia. He lived in Moscow until 1940, when, for reasons which I do not know, and with the assistance that I am not aware of, he left Moscow in the midst of war and went to England where he became associated with the British Broadcasting Corp.

He later turned up in Hamburg, Germany, as commentator for the northwest German radio.

It was suggested that I employ him a commentator for Radio RIAS. And I refused to do so.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who suggested that?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Mr. Meyer.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Hans Bruno Meyer?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he subsequently become employed by Radio RIAS?

Mr. HEIMLICH. After my departure from RIAS he became chief commentator and program director of Radio RIAS, a position which I believe he still holds.

The CHAIRMAN. Repeat the last part of your answer, please.

Mr. HEIMLICH. A position which he presently holds as chief commentator and program director of Radio RIAS.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know a man named Ehlers?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was he employed by RIAS while you were there?

Mr. HEIMLICH. He was there when I arrived in RIAS.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you fire him?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Why?

Mr. HEIMLICH. General Howley had received information from his security staff that Ehlers had been associated with either the Communist newspaper or some Communist organization.

Mr. SOURWINE. Colonel, when you were put in charge of RIAS, was authority over that station separated from Mr. Charles Lewis?

Mr. HEIMLICH. In this way, we received some logistical assistance from Mr. Lewis' office, and we received policy direction. The main direction of the station, however, was given to General Howley and through him to me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did Mr. Lewis endeavor to exercise control indirectly over RIAS after direct control had been taken away from him by General Howley?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Yes, particularly through Mr. Meyer, who attempted to control the output of my commentators, and to influence the content of some of our dramatic political programs which we instituted in the station.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have heard testimony here about a 40,000-watt transmitter?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. That transmitter was about to be made available to RIAS, for use by RIAS, when it was sent out of Berlin?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Tell us what you know about that.

Mr. HEIMLICH. From my recollection, the transmitter was removed from its site at the time that it was to begin construction—we were to begin construction on it—flown to the Western Zone, where it remained.

Mr. SOURWINE. Why did RIAS need that transmitter?

Mr. HEIMLICH. We were operating—I should go back a second, sir.

One of the first acts I took as the new director of RIAS was to increase its hours on the air. It was necessary to do this, so that we had a continuing opposition to the Communist Radio Berlin. So we increased to 12 and then to 18 hours of operation daily.

Our transmitter equipment was broken-down equipment, and it was necessary to stop the 20,000-watt transmitter from time to time and let it cool off, during which time we would turn on a thousand-watt transmitter we had and operate at low power, but still continue to operate.

The 40,000-watt transmitter would have allowed us to operate full time with full power and to a far larger listening area.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you getting into all of the East German Zone, as far as you knew, with the 20,000-watt transmitter?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Oh, no, sir. We had a basic service area, I think, of considerably less than 60 miles.

Mr. SOURWINE. Would the 40,000-watt transmitter have enabled you to cover substantially all of the East German Zone?

Mr. HEIMLICH. It certainly would have enabled us to cover the critical areas of the industrial zone; yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you advised in advance of the transfer of this 40,000-watt transmitter out of Berlin, that this was going to be done?

Mr. HEIMLICH. It is my recollection that the first notice I had of the removal of the transmitter is when I reported for duty one morning, and my chief engineer, a Herr Poesnecker, came in and announced, in great excitement, that the transmitter was gone.

Mr. SOURWINE. What did you do?

Mr. HEIMLICH. I immediately called General Howley and then I called Mr. Lewis.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was General Howley's reaction?

Mr. HEIMLICH. He was almost as excited by it as I was. He was quite upset, as I was.

I called Mr. Lewis, and Mr. Lewis gave me his reasons for having had the transmitter removed.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever discuss this matter with Mr. Lewis before the removal of the transmitter?

Mr. HEIMLICH. To the best of my recollection; no, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever hear Mr. Lewis testify that he had discussed this matter with you?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have no recollection of any such discussion?

Mr. HEIMLICH. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is all you can say—that you do not remember?

Mr. HEIMLICH. That is right, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You cannot say there was or was not such a discussion?

Mr. HEIMLICH. To the best of my recollection, there was no such discussion.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, when you came into charge of Radio RIAS, did you make a check to see what the incoming mail—

(Conference between counsel and members of the committee.)

Mr. SOURWINE. Returning to the matter of the 40,000 watt transmitter, Colonel, you said "Mr. Lewis gave us his reasons." What were those reasons?

Mr. HEIMLICH. The reason was that these radio branch offices of the military government, United States, of which Mr. Lewis was the head, feared that the city might fall to the Soviets or to Communist mobs at almost any time, and in order to save this transmitter they had moved it to the West. Now, this reasoning was, in my opinion—which I stated at the time—not valid, because the Secretary of State and the President of the United States had both announced that any such overt acts on the part of the Soviets would be regarded as an act of war.

Of course, such action in Berlin would have been accompanied by similar action in the West, and the transmitter would have been lost anyway.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was there any expectation that the Americans were going to get out of Berlin?

Mr. HEIMLICH. I don't believe there ever was, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Didn't General Howley go on the air over the radio the first day of the blockade and say, "We are not getting out of Berlin, we are going to stay"?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Yes, sir. And he said it several times later, as did General Clay.

Mr. SOURWINE. He repeatedly stated "The American people will not stand by and allow the German people to starve"?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Yes; that is right. And that had a great effect on the population of West Berlin.

Mr. SOURWINE. I was reading from General Howley's book, Mr. Chairman, entitled "Berlin Command."

Do you know happened to this transmitter, Colonel, after it was taken out of West Berlin?

Mr. HEIMLICH. I only knew it left West Berlin. I talked with Mr. Lewis and Mr. Meyer later about it, knew that it was in a warehouse in the West, and eventually it was planned to use it somewhere. It did not do us much good in the blockade.

Mr. SOURWINE. How long was it after that transmitter was removed before you were able to increase the power of RIAS?

Mr. HEIMLICH. As I recall, it was about a year, nearly a year, before we got a hundred thousand watt transmitter.

Mr. SOURWINE. A year during which you could have operated with 40,000 watts?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Yes, sir. The transmitter could have been put into operation in about 90 days by putting the workmen on the job around the clock. We did that, incidentally, with the 100-kilowatt transmitter and got it on the air in record time.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know anything about the question of bilingual radio broadcasts in Germany?

Mr. HEIMLICH. I know that I recommended it repeatedly for the use of Radio RIAS.

Mr. SOURWINE. Beginning when?

Mr. HEIMLICH. I believe in the fall of 1948, when we had strong evidence that Poles and Czechs were listening to RIAS, and also that it was even being listened to in the Soviet internment camps in Eastern Germany.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you, sir, permitted to initiate bilingual or dual language broadcasts over RIAS?

Mr. HEIMLICH. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Why not?

Mr. HEIMLICH. It was a matter of policy, which Mr. Lewis controlled.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Lewis said "No"; is that right?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever hear of Mr. Lewis recommending bilingual broadcasts over any radio station in Germany?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Yes, I knew that he had contemplated his Little Abner operation. But the fact was—

Mr. SOURWINE. What do you mean by Little Abner?

Mr. HEIMLICH. That was a code number given to an idea to employ a transmitter in the West in multilingual broadcasts.

Mr. SOURWINE. When was this idea advanced?

Mr. HEIMLICH. In the winter of 1948-49.

Mr. SOURWINE. You mean that at the same time or shortly after you had recommended such broadcasts for RIAS and he had rejected them he then proposed that such broadcasting be initiated over another station?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was such a station ever built?

Mr. HEIMLICH. I don't know, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know anything about a radio station near the Czech border which was eventually used as a relay station for RIAS?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Yes, sir. We had a low power station there, and I believe a high power station went into transmission after my departure from RIAS, or about the time of my departure.

Mr. SOURWINE. Which was when?

Mr. HEIMLICH. 1949, September.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know whether that higher power station was this same old 40,000-watt transmitter?

Mr. HEIMLICH. No, I don't.

Mr. SOURWINE. During your operation of RIAS you say evidence came to you that the station was being listened to by Poles and Czechs and even sometimes in the Soviet Zone? Where did that evidence come from? Was it in the mail?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Yes, sir. It came in such volume that we had to establish a special mail department and mail analysis branch.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was the volume of incoming mail from listeners when you took over RIAS?

Mr. HEIMLICH. There was no volume, sir. The survey in the month of February of 1948 showed, I think, an average of three hundred-odd pieces of mail per annum per year.

Mr. SOURWINE. You say a survey. Did you cause that survey to be made?

Mr. HEIMLICH. With the assistance of the Survey Branch of the Information Services Division of the Office of Military Government.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were such surveys made periodically before you had come as director of RIAS?

Mr. HEIMLICH. It is my opinion that they were. And I know that audience measurement surveys were also made.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you found that as of February—which was your first month there, was it?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. There were 300 per year?

Mr. HEIMLICH. That was about the volume, 300 per year.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was the volume at the time you left RIAS?

Mr. HEIMLICH. We had hit a peak of 5,000 pieces of mail a week, and were averaging actually around 8,000 pieces per month. This 1 week was exceptional.

Mr. SOURWINE. 5,000 in 1 week?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. How long was that after this 300-a-year rate?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Eight months.

Mr. SOURWINE. And then you had an average of 8,000 a month, you say?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. As compared with 300 a year?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did General Clay ever indicate his approval of your work at RIAS?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Several times, sir. Of the people connected with the propaganda operations in Germany I believe I was the only one that he singled out in his book to commend. And I have some place here a letter which he wrote later.

This letter is dated January 25, 1950, and is a letter which congratulated me upon acting as adviser to setting up the Committee for Radio Free Europe. If you will indulge me I will quote one paragraph:

I hope that you are to continue where you are, because if you can bring to bear on the work for the Committee for Free Europe the experience you have gained in Berlin it will give reality to what they are trying to do. I am looking forward to seeing you soon and thanking you in person.

Sincerely,

LUCIUS D. CLAY.

Mr. SOURWINE. I want to read to you from an article which appeared in the February 4, 1950, issue of Collier's magazine, a paragraph, and ask you if you knew about the situation there portrayed. This is an article called "Voice Behind the Curtain," by Ernest Leissler. It carries a Berlin dateline. It says:

The second highest tribute ever paid to RIAS came from Gen. Lucius D. Clay, in a closed staff meeting sometime before his departure last spring as United States Military Governor in Germany. The staff was discussing ways and means of cutting occupation costs, and one economy-minded official sug-

gested, "Why don't you start with RIAS budget? That is a tidy little item of DM12 million a year."

"Definitely not," Clay reportedly reported with sharp finality. "There will be no cuts in RIAS while I am here. Next to the airlift, RIAS has been the strongest American weapon in the cold war in Germany."

Do you know, Colonel, whether the situation there portrayed actually existed?

Mr. HEIMLICH. I know this, that I am very proud of my part in developing a truly successful propaganda weapon in the cold war.

Mr. SOURWINE. But do you know, sir, whether General Clay was firm in the decision that there should be no cuts in RIAS?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Oh, yes, sir; he never cut our budget.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, were you ever told by Mr. Lewis to cut your budget?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Yes, sir, after General Clay's departure.

Mr. SOURWINE. Tell us about that.

Mr. HEIMLICH. I agreed with Mr. Lewis that certain cuts could be made, and I recommended that we eliminate a symphony orchestra which we were maintaining and which RIAS still maintains, inasmuch as there are few better orchestras in the world than the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra. We could have made a contract with them which would have saved us DM700,000 per year. Instead of that Mr. Lewis insisted that I get rid of my chief political commentator, whom I was paying a fairly high price—we had to, because there was competition in Germany, as there is everywhere else, for good personnel. And we had recruited the best personnel that we could find, and we paid them.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you refuse to make any particular cuts that Mr. Lewis had directed you to make?

Mr. HEIMLICH. I did not refuse in that sense. I refused to discharge these employees, however, because they were the backbone and the blood and the brains of our anti-Communist drive.

Mr. SOURWINE. What employees were you told to discharge?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Specifically, Von Varady, Erik Ode—

Mr. SOURWINE. Who is he?

Mr. HEIMLICH. He was our chief producer of dramatic programs—and Eugene Hartmann.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know those persons to be anti-Communist?

Mr. HEIMLICH. I knew them to be the very heart of our anti-Communist program.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you consider them reliable, capable, and efficient?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Yes, sir; and still do.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you refused on that ground to discharge them?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did Mr. Lewis have authority to order you to discharge them?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Oh, yes, sir. At that time RIAS had reverted to the complete control of the High Commissioner's Office.

Mr. SOURWINE. This was after General Clay had left?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did that situation bring about your resignation?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Tell us about that.

Mr. HEIMLICH. I should go back to the winter of 1948-49, when, after the resignation and the voluntary departure of Mr. Barber and Mr. Boris Shub, I was alone in RIAS for a good many months. I tried to get personnel, Mr. Lewis tried to obtain personnel, and General Clay tried to, but there were none available. In the spring of 1949 I received some help—this was the late spring after the lifting of the blockade—I received some help in the form of transfers from the Office of the Radio Branch of Mr. Lewis in the persons of Mr. Chevalier and Mr. Ewing. Almost at once I was aware of the fact that Mr. Ewing was not checking program content with me but with Mr. Lewis, and there had been a number of instances where my orders to commentators had been countermanded by Mr. Chevalier, by Mr. Ewing, after a conference between them and Mr. Meyer, I believe. Also Mr. Meyer came to the station and tried to so influence the commentaries of people like Von Varady, Hartmann, and others, that they no longer had the hard anti-Communist line which RIAS had developed and which all of Eastern Europe expected us to continue.

Things went from bad to worse, particularly administratively, but I still thought I had the trust and confidence of Mr. Lewis, until one day he called me and told me he did not have confidence in me, and that he was sending someone in to replace me.

I told him I would come to Bad Hamburg and resign, because I could not operate my station if I had to clear every program with Bad Hamburg—it was perfectly obvious we could not do so.

I went there, resigned, and departed almost immediately.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, was there ever an anti-Communist program—and if so, which one—that Mr. Meyer attempted to prevent being used by the station?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Yes, sir. There was a program which we developed in August of 1949 commemorating the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Hitler-Stalin pact. In order to properly observe that historical occasion we had research made into the files of the German Foreign Office in the International Documents Center, and in the files of the German newspapers. We were only able to obtain recordings from the files of our chief rival, Radio Berlin, of the voices of Hitler, Stalin, Molotov, Ribbentrop, and others. And Von Varady, the commentator to whom Mr. Lewis objected paying so much money, built a program, as he had many before, and we thought this was to be our proudest effort. We invited Mr. Meyer to come in and hear the program before it went on the air. We took every secrecy precaution possible to make sure that nobody else heard it except those who had participated in putting it together. Mr. Meyer objected strenuously to the program, first on the ground that it was too long—it was actually 28 minutes—and secondly, that it was tendentious, and tended to stir up feeling among the Germans, feeling against the Soviet Union.

I replied that the program was pure fact, there was no fiction to it, and I intended to put it on the air.

I should tell you that the program was scheduled to go on the air at 10 o'clock that night. At 7 o'clock that evening my program manager called me to tell me that Radio Berlin was denouncing me personally, and RIAS, for the program which it had not yet put on the air, and wouldn't be until 3 hours later.

There was a commentator in Radio Berlin whose spot—

The CHAIRMAN. That was a Communist station?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Yes, sir, completely Communist dominated and controlled.

And the Communist commentator had been in the United States as a refugee during the Hitler period, had returned to Germany and become a commentator for the Communists. And he insisted upon having as his slot the time exactly opposite our broadcasts of the Voice of America. This being the case, he had a superb time.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who was this commentator?

Mr. HEIMLICH. I believe his name was Schnitzler, if my memory serves me correctly.

In other words, there was a leak somewhere between my station and Radio Berlin sometime between 5 o'clock in the afternoon and 7 o'clock in the afternoon.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, was it supposed to be a secret?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Yes, sir. We tried not to tip our hand in these surprise broadcasts. The success of RIAS lay generally in its ability to react very rapidly to any given political situation, and even more important, to remain continuously on the offense. We did remain on the offense, and programs like this which were going to be extremely offensive to the Soviets and to the Communists, and extremely embarrassing to them, were protected until they went on the air. We only made announcements during station breaks for several hours in advance. The people of Eastern Germany and Berlin, and much of Eastern Europe, had come to look forward to those RIAS station break announcements, because they always knew a new bomb was going to be dropped on the Communists' head.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you found out where the leak occurred?

Mr. HEIMLICH. I have the following to report. I returned to my broadcasting station and called together everyone who had been concerned with that program and who had been present that afternoon when the tape recording was played. One of the German employees insisted that he had seen Mr. Meyer at Radio Berlin immediately following the playing of our tape in Radio RIAS that afternoon, that he had seen Mr. Meyer's car in front of Radio Berlin, let me put it that way.

I had every confidence in everyone concerned with the program before and after; we had no other leaks.

Senator JENNER. What was the theme of that broadcast, do you recall?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Yes, sir.

Senator JENNER. How did it end up?

Mr. HEIMLICH. The broadcast showed the utter callousness of the two dictatorships, that of the Soviet Union and that of Nazi Germany, and how, while the Nazis and the Communists were both saying one thing to the free world, and actually pulling the wool over England's eyes by holding talks with them that looked forward to peace, they were engineering a secret deal with each other to divide up Poland and to plunge the world into war. That happened, of course, a week after this pact was signed between Hitler and Stalin, the world was at war, and millions of people died. Our broadcast made that very pointed. And in conclusion my announcer, who was also one of the

best actors in Western Germany, said in a voice filled with sorrow, "Ladies and Gentlemen, this has been the story of two dictators, one of whom still lives."

And that was the sort of thing which was objected to.

This, I might say, was several years before Stalin's death.

MR. SOURWINE. At the time you left RIAS, Colonel, did Mr. McCloy ask you to stay?

MR. HEIMLICH. Several weeks before. At a party in Berlin Mr. McCloy took me aside and said that he had heard some fine things about RIAS while being briefed in Washington. He asked me to prepare for him budget estimates for the future operation of RIAS, and said something to the effect that he would be very happy if I would remain with him and continue to operate the station.

MR. SOURWINE. After you left the station did you subsequently have occasion to learn anything about the effectiveness of the station?

MR. HEIMLICH. There was, of course, a considerable amount of opinion in the German press. The Socialistische Democrat, which was the official newspaper of the German Social Democrat Party, published an article on the 29th of September in 1949—with your indulgence I will quote from it:

For some time two groups are leading a fight against each other at RIAS, a fight which can only end with the complete shelving of one of them. The leader of one of the groups is the director, Mr. Heinlich, who expressed his desire to resign. He is known as supporting the policy which so far has been followed by RIAS. The representative of the other group is Herr Hans Meyer, who worked in Berlin as a Communist before 1933 and belonged to the Communist Party of Germany. For some time Mr. Meyer has been recommending a change in the present political attitude of RIAS to be more tolerant and conciliatory toward the Soviets and the SEL—

that is the Socialistische Einheits Partie, which simply means the Communist Party of Eastern Germany.

That is one thing.

In July of 1950 the chairman of the Free German Party, a conservative party, Karl Rudolf Schwenicke, made the following statements:

RIAS now enormously impresses one as having had its sharp aggressive anti-Soviet programs curtailed by higher authority. This weak conduct in the face of the increasing Communist terror in the Soviet Zone is bringing sharp criticism from the German side. It is incomprehensible that RIAS should no longer name the Soviets but only the German Communist Party.

There were numerous other articles of a similar nature.

MR. SOURWINE. Did you hear questions earlier of the witness who preceded you respecting certain reports of complaints about material deleted from broadcasts over RIAS?

MR. HEIMLICH. Yes, that was brought to my attention when I became director of RIAS.

MR. SOURWINE. You knew about those complaints at that time?

MR. HEIMLICH. Yes, sir. These complaints had occurred before I came in, sir.

MR. SOURWINE. The fact that they had occurred then was what was brought to your attention?

MR. HEIMLICH. Yes, sir.

MR. SOURWINE. Do you know what happened to Mr. Von Varady?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Yes, sir. He is presently a newspaperman in Berlin, Germany. He has a column in several newspapers, and is a correspondent for West Zone papers.

Mr. SOURWINE. Still an anti-Communist?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Very violently so, yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Could he be the man Mr. Lewis referred to as having given a 5-minute commentary?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you ever told by Mr. Lewis to cut Mr. Von Varady's salary?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you refused to do so?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was his salary at the time?

Mr. HEIMLICH. His salary was about what it is now. It was about the equivalent of nine to ten thousand American dollars a year.

Mr. SOURWINE. Nine to ten thousand American dollars a year?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Yes, sir; which is very low in comparison to American salaries, but is about equitable when compared to comparable jobs in West German stations.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you remember, sir, the statement by Mr. Lewis that you had printed a story about the removal of the 40,000 radio station from Berlin in the magazine Common Sense?

Mr. HEIMLICH. I never heard of the magazine Common Sense. I printed such a story in the Freeman on November 27, 1950. A copy of it is here. The Freeman is a conservative, intellectual magazine.

Mr. SOURWINE. Would you let the committee have that magazine, sir.

Mr. HEIMLICH. With pleasure, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Lewis testified, Mr. Heimlich—you probably heard me read it to him:

For quite a few years I was more than concerned about that and wanted to establish a multilingual station in Germany.

Do you have any knowledge as to when Mr. Lewis first proposed the establishment of a multilingual station in Germany?

Mr. HEIMLICH. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you hear me read to Mr. Lewis his testimony about consulting with you with respect to the 40-kilowatt transmitter?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does that testimony comport with your own recollection?

Mr. HEIMLICH. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you say that testimony was wrong?

Mr. HEIMLICH. I can say that to my best recollection—and I have a very good memory in such things—I was never informed of the removal of that transmitter until my chief engineer told me about it.

Mr. SOURWINE. You heard me read to Mr. Lewis his testimony:

I never had remote control of the station, I felt, well, it was my baby, and I worked with it all of the time.

Is that factual?

Mr. HEIMLICH. In a sense, but actually not in fact.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Lewis for a time exercised his control over the station from some 200 miles away; is that right?

Mr. HEIMLICH. Well, yes, sir. And before January of 1948 he exercised it through control officers, none of whom had ever had any experience whatever in radio. And then afterward, of course, from remote control in Western Germany.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have no more questions of this witness, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Jenner.

Senator JENNER. I have no questions.

The CHAIRMAN. You may stand aside.

Who is your next witness?

Mr. SOURWINE. Amos Landman.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary of the United States Senate shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. LANDMAN. I do.

TESTIMONY OF AMOS LANDMAN, NEW YORK, N. Y., ACCCOMPANIED BY DAVID REIN, COUNSEL

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Landman, you appeared before this committee on a previous date?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are accompanied by counsel today, the same counsel who was here at that time?

Mr. LANDMAN. That is correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. Subsequent to your appearance here on that previous occasion, did you give the Providence Journal-Bulletin—

Mr. LANDMAN. I decline to answer, sir, on the ground of possible self-incrimination.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will read you, Mr. Landman, an article which appeared in the Providence, R. I.—I beg your pardon; this is an AP story about it:

• PROVIDENCE, R. I., June 2 (AP).—Amos Landman, former newspaper and radio reporter, who has refused to tell a Senate subcommittee whether he had ever been a Communist, told the Providence Journal-Bulletin he took that course so he would not be compelled to turn "informer" on others. In a telephone interview from his home in New York, Landman said: "The youthful Communists I knew 15 years ago have long since quit the party, married, reared children, bought homes, and assumed responsible positions. They never engaged in subversion. To subject them to what I have gone through would be despicable." He reported that shortly after he returned to work yesterday at the headquarters of the National Municipal League, of which he had been publicity director, his resignation was requested. "Apparently I am retired," he said. Landman was identified earlier this week as a Communist Party member by Winston Burdett, Columbia Broadcasting System correspondent.

Does that AP story, Mr. Landman, substantially relate what happened?

Mr. LANDMAN. I decline to answer, sir, for the reason I have given.

Mr. SOURWINE. And did you, Mr. Landman, make the statement to anyone over the telephone or otherwise for publication substantially to the effect that you took the course you took before this committee—meaning that you claimed your privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment—so that you would not be compelled to "turn informer" on others?

Mr. LANDMAN. I respectfully decline to answer, sir, for the same reason.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that, Mr. Landman, the reason why you claimed your privilege under the fifth amendment and refused to answer questions before us, did you do that because you did not want to be compelled to turn informer on others?

Mr. LANDMAN. May I have the question read to me?

Mr. SOURWINE. I asked you if it is the fact that when you refused to testify before this committee in response to certain questions and took the fifth amendment, that you did that so that you would not be compelled to turn informer against others?

Mr. LANDMAN. I declined to answer questions because it was my constitutional privilege, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is correct. That is what you stated. But, when you stated that, did you state it for the reason that you did not wish to become an informer against others?

Mr. LANDMAN. I decline to answer on the basis of my constitutional privilege, Mr. Sourwine.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Landman, you are assured that your constitutional privilege is personal to you, that when you claim the fifth amendment you may claim it only because you fear that if you truthfully answer the question it might form at least a link in a chain to incriminate you, that you may not do so for the sake of protecting others.

I believe, Mr. Chairman, that this witness must either disavow the statement that he made for public relations reasons, or else he is in contempt of this committee in refusing to testify in response to the questions that were asked him.

I first believe, sir, that the witness must answer the question as to whether his refusal was bona fide and whether he claimed his privilege because of fear for himself, or whether he claimed it because he did not want to inform against others.

The CHAIRMAN. Ask the question.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you, sir, claim the privilege against self-incrimination because you, yourself, feared that a truthful answer to those questions might tend to incriminate you, or did you claim it because you did not want to inform on other persons?

The CHAIRMAN. You are ordered on penalty of contempt of the Senate to answer that question.

Mr. LANDMAN. I claimed my privilege, Mr. Chairman, because I feared that my answers might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, the youthful Communists, as you described them in your statement to the Providence newspaper, included Nat Einhorn, didn't they?

Mr. LANDMAN. I decline to answer that, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You refused to answer a question about Nat Einhorn, didn't you, whether you knew him as a Communist?

Mr. LANDMAN. I did refuse to answer that question.

Mr. SOURWINE. You refused to answer a question as to whether you knew Milton Kaufman was a Communist, didn't you?

Mr. LANDMAN. That is true.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was he a youthful Communist too?

Mr. LANDMAN. I decline to answer, sir, for the same reason.

Mr. SOURWINE. You refused to answer a question as to whether John W. Powell was a Communist, didn't you?

Mr. LANDMAN. I believe I said that I didn't know. My recollection is that I said I had no knowledge as to whether he was or not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that the truth to the best of your knowledge and belief, you did not know and do not know now whether John W. Powell was a Communist?

Mr. LANDMAN. That is certainly to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. SOURWINE. You met him overseas?

Mr. LANDMAN. Correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. You testified to that?

Mr. LANDMAN. I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, if before this committee on a previous occasion you testified and refused to answer a question as to whether you knew Mr. Powell as a Communist, do you now say that you did not then honestly fear that a truthful answer to that question would tend to incriminate you?

Mr. LANDMAN. If you recall, sir, I took the privilege when you asked me that question in the executive session. And at the public session I told you that after consultation with my attorney I was prepared to answer the question, which I then did, and I will answer it again now if you wish me to.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have no knowledge, and have never had any knowledge, as to whether John W. Powell was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LANDMAN. I haven't the slightest idea.

Mr. SOURWINE. Then he definitely was not one of the Communists you were trying to protect, was he?

Mr. LANDMAN. I was trying to protect myself, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you, sir, while you were in Taipeh, Formosa, file any stories to the New York Herald Tribune?

Mr. LANDMAN. I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever claim to have a connection with the Herald Tribune?

Mr. LANDMAN. Claim to who? I don't think I understand you.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever seek credentials as a correspondent for the Herald Tribune?

Mr. LANDMAN. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you refer to yourself as a correspondent for the Herald Tribune?

Mr. LANDMAN. I may have told people that I contributed from time to time to the Herald Tribune, which I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was it generally known that you were writing for the Herald Tribune?

Mr. LANDMAN. Generally known? I don't think anything was generally known about me there, I certainly was not a person many people in Taipeh knew.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was your arrangement with the Herald Tribune? Were you employed by that paper?

Mr. LANDMAN. No, sir. I contributed on a free-lance basis.

Mr. SOURWINE. They sometimes used your stories?

Mr. LANDMAN. They did.

Mr. SOURWINE. About how often?

Mr. LANDMAN. My recollection is that they used perhaps 25 stories over a period of approximately a year.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know that the Chinese Nationalist Government in 1950 had prepared a cable asking the Herald Tribune to recall you?

Mr. LANDMAN. No, I know nothing about that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know that the content of that cable had leaked to correspondents in Taipeh?

Mr. LANDMAN. No; this is the first I have heard about it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Would you say now that your departure from Formosa had nothing to do with that cable, or the leak of that cable?

Mr. LANDMAN. My departure was entirely voluntary, and if there was such a cable I know nothing at all about it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you, sir, discuss with Joseph Barnes the publication of a book you had written?

Mr. LANDMAN. You asked me about his connection with the book when I was here before. Thinking about it, it is my impression that he was not on the staff as an editor of the publisher at that time. I told you he may have read the manuscript. I am not sure whether he approved it or disapproved it, if he did read it.

Mr. SOURWINE. The question is, Did you ever discuss with Joseph Barnes the publication of a book you had written?

Mr. LANDMAN. We may have had several conversations. My recollection is not very firm on that, however.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Landman, did you ever apply for employment with the Central Intelligence Agency?

Mr. LANDMAN. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Landman, when you went to Formosa, when, where, and how did you enter?

Mr. LANDMAN. I went from Hong Kong to Formosa by plane—

Mr. SOURWINE. Private airplane?

Mr. LANDMAN. No. It was a commercial line, Commercial Air Transport was the name of the line. This was in the spring or early summer of 1950.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where did you spend your first night in Formosa?

Mr. LANDMAN. I beg your pardon?

Mr. SOURWINE. Where did you spend your first night in Formosa?

Mr. LANDMAN. I am not sure. I spent it either at a place called the Friends of China Club, which was sort of a hotel, or I may have spent it with a friend; I don't recall which it was.

Mr. SOURWINE. What friend?

Mr. LANDMAN. Albert Ravenholt.

Mr. SOURWINE. Spell it.

Mr. LANDMAN. R-a-v-e-n-h-o-l-t.

Mr. SOURWINE. What official procedure did you go through in connection with your arrival in Formosa?

Mr. LANDMAN. I explained, there was no consular establishment of the Chinese National Government in Hong Kong, so that what I did was to discuss the matter of a visa with the representative of the airline which took me there. And the airline has personnel in both Taipeh and Hong Kong, and they went—as I recall this, I think they made the application in my behalf after taking certain information such as the passport number, and so on, and made the application for

a visa to the proper authorities, and in due course I was advised that a visa would be awaiting me when I arrived in Taipeh, which is precisely what happened.

Mr. SOURWINE. My question was, what official procedure did you go through in connection with your arrival in Formosa?

Mr. LANDMAN. After I arrived?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. LANDMAN. After I arrived there was an immigration or security officer of some kind on hand at the airport, he asked me for my passport, and such other credentials as may have been demanded, he stamped my passport, and I was admitted to the island. That is about all there was to that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever apply for employment on the New York Times?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes, I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Whom did you see?

Mr. LANDMAN. I saw Mr. Lester Markel, the Sunday editor.

Mr. SOURWINE. Anyone else?

Mr. LANDMAN. I think on one of the occasions when I applied he referred me to his assistant, Mr. Schwartz.

Mr. SOURWINE. Anyone else?

Mr. LANDMAN. Also on a different occasion I wrote a letter to the city editor of the Times seeking employment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who was that?

Mr. LANDMAN. Mr. Frank Adams.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever obtain employment on any of those occasions?

Mr. LANDMAN. No, sir—oh, there is one other occasion which slipped my mind. I applied and received employment as an office boy, I had a summer job there in the summer of 1933 or 1934.

Mr. SOURWINE. What did Mr. Markel tell you when you applied for a job there?

Mr. LANDMAN. He told me there was none.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever apply for a job to Mr. John Desmond of the New York Times?

Mr. LANDMAN. Yes, I also spoke to Mr. Desmond.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that on the same occasion?

Mr. LANDMAN. It was on one of these occasions.

Mr. SOURWINE. What did Mr. Desmond tell you?

Mr. LANDMAN. He said that the final authority rested in Mr. Markel.

Mr. SOURWINE. So you talked to Mr. Desmond first, and afterward to Mr. Markel, is that right?

Mr. LANDMAN. I talked to Mr. Desmond a number of times. I can't say that I recall who came first.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have no more questions of this witness, Mr. Chairman. I ask that he be excused.

Senator JENNER (now presiding). If there are no more questions, the committee will stand in recess until 10:30 tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 4 p. m., the committee recessed, to reconvene at 10:30 a. m., Thursday, July 14, 1955.)

STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF WORLD COMMUNISM

Recruiting for Espionage

THURSDAY, JULY 14, 1955

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS,
OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:45 a. m., in the caucus room, Senate Office Building, Senator James O. Eastland (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Eastland and Jenner.

Also present: J. G. Sourwine, chief counsel; Alva C. Carpenter, associate counsel; Benjamin Mandel, director of research.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Ansel Talbert.

TESTIMONY OF ANSEL TALBERT, NEW YORK

The CHAIRMAN. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you will give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. TALBERT. I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. Would you give the reporter your full name, please?

Mr. TALBERT. Ansel E. Talbert.

Mr. SOURWINE. And your address?

Mr. TALBERT. Penthouse No. 3, 333 East 43d Street.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Talbert, where are you employed?

Mr. TALBERT. By the New York Herald Tribune, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. In what capacity?

Mr. TALBERT. As military and aviation editor.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you a pilot?

Mr. TALBERT. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you a flier?

Mr. TALBERT. I have done a great deal of flying, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Tell us where you did some of your flying. Were you in the war?

Mr. TALBERT. Yes; I served in the war for 4½ years, almost entirely as a combat intelligence officer. I was mostly in the European theater. I was in the 8th Air Force and I also served on the Continent.

In the 8th Air Force I was chief of liaison and special reports for the Directorate of Intelligence.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you wounded?

Mr. TALBERT. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you decorated?

Mr. TALBERT. I received the Air Force Commendation Ribbon, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you serving in Korea in 1950?

Mr. TALBERT. Yes; I was in Tokyo and Korea from a period about 3 weeks after the start of the Korean war until April 1951.

Mr. SOURWINE. In what capacity?

Mr. TALBERT. I was in charge, first, of the Tokyo War Bureau of the New York Herald Tribune and I flew a number of missions over Korea. During this period I later went to Korea to be a war correspondent in the field.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, were you in Korea in December of 1950?

Mr. TALBERT. Yes, sir, I was.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you remember an incident which involved F-86 aircraft, Sabrejets?

Mr. TALBERT. Yes, sir; I remember it very well.

Mr. SOURWINE. Will you tell us about it, please?

Mr. TALBERT. I had been in Korea since early in December, according to my recollection, although I may have left the last part of November from Tokyo to go to Korea.

During this period, the early part of December 1950, our armies were in very bad shape. The Chinese Communists had suddenly come in, we were being defeated everywhere and, as a matter of fact, there was some question as to whether we would be able to stay in Korea. It was about the 12th of December; I was up in Seoul and I was making trips up farther north to the front from time to time. I heard a rumor that the biggest airbase, in fact the only airbase which we had in the north, which was Kimpo Airfield outside of Seoul about 10 or 12 miles, was being evacuated; and as a matter of fact, according to this rumor, fuel dumps and housing out there were being burned and blown up.

The New York Herald Tribune had no transport of its own—as a matter of fact, very few outfits did—and the Associated Press had been extremely kind in lending me a jeep or in letting me get aboard some of their jeeps if they were going somewhere where I wanted to go.

On this particular occasion, this December 12 occasion, I ran into a young Associated Press correspondent named Bill Bernard, who is now chief of the Dallas Bureau of the Associated Press. He had also heard this rumor and he also was going to Kimpo Airfield. I got aboard his jeep and we made the trip out to Kimpo. When we arrived, we found that Kimpo was still very much in operation although there had been some destruction of housing units out there. As a matter of fact, we found that the Air Force had a press tent set up on Kimpo Airfield which was being run by a captain named Sanky Trimble, who was an old Associated Press man and, as a matter of fact, had been recalled specifically to do Air Force public relations in Korea.

He was returned to inactive duty about a year later, I understand, and I believe he is now chief of the Associated Press bureau in Albuquerque, though I am not certain on this point.

Should I continue, sir?

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. TALBERT. We talked with Sanky, the two of us, Bill Bernard and I, for a short time. I recall getting some material for a feature story about a GI who had set up a recording system there to play Christmas carols.

And I just happened to look up after I had been there for some time. Overhead I saw a swept-wing jet fighter over the field, very fast. This caused me to blink in surprise because, to the best of my knowledge, there were no swept-wing jet fighters in Korea or in the entire theater of operation.

I said, "That looks like an F-86, but it couldn't be." I watched this F-86 circle the field, make an approach, and land. And then I rushed out to see what was happening. I was followed by Bernard, by Captain Trimble and various enlisted personnel from the press tent there. As a matter of fact, one of the personnel was an Air Force photographer who snapped a picture which I have here when this event took place—in other words, when this first pilot whom I'd seen, got out of his plane and stepped down.

Mr. SOURWINE. You say the first pilot. Was there more than one aircraft?

Mr. TALBERT. Yes, sir; he was followed by his wingman, I believe about 10 or 15 minutes later and also by—I am not sure as to the exact number, but at least two other F-86's.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. TALBERT. The pilot of the first jet which I had seen go over the field fast turned out to be Col. John C. Meyer, who was the ace of aces in World War II. I believe he destroyed 37 or 38 enemy aircraft, which was more than any pilot of any of the American armed services.

I knew Colonel Meyer personally very well. As a matter of fact he and I had both been commanders of Air Service Post 501 of the American Legion, which is a post composed exclusively of pilots and airmen of the Armed Forces of the United States of every war since the Mexican border.

I also knew, from my experience as an aeronautical correspondent at the time, or previous to my coming to Korea, that Colonel Meyer was in command of the famous 4th Fighter Group, which contained most, or not most but a great many of the aces of World War II and was considered the crack fighter outfit of the entire Air Force.

I was greatly surprised to see Colonel Meyer there and also to see the F-86's. I asked Colonel Meyer and also Captain Trimble if it was possible to write anything about the arrival, as did Mr. Bernard.

We were told that under no circumstances could anything be written at this time.

We asked when it might be possible to write something about this, because this was a big story, and actually was the first good news which the allied or the United Nations forces in Korea had had in the last month, and we were told by Captain Trimble that the usual rule of thumb was when an aircraft had been in combat and the enemy very definitely knew that it was in combat it was possible to write about it.

I had done a story on the first combat of the F-84's, which is a fighter-bomber, a jet fighter-bomber, as opposed to the F-86, which was pri-

marily an interceptor, and this was a rule which had been followed on that occasion. It was possible to print the story after the combat had taken place.

It was agreed that none of us would say anything to anybody about this. Bill Bernard and I agreed to check with each other, however, and Captain Trimble agreed to inform us when it might be possible to print this story.

I went back to Seoul—as a matter of fact, made another trip up to the front and, as I recall, on the evening of December 16, very late, I received a telephone call at the press billet in Seoul from Captain Trimble.

Captain Trimble said, "You be out in front of the press billets tomorrow morning very early, we will pick you up, because the thing that you are interested in is going to happen."

I checked with Bill Bernard that night and I found that he had received the same message, and I went to bed and got up early.

The next morning I went out in front of the press billets and there was a small convoy there consisting of several Air Force personnel. There also were a number of other newspapermen there, which surprised me greatly because I had assumed that, up to this time, that Bill Bernard and I were to have the exclusive rights to this story since we had been the first to see it.

I don't recall the names of all the other newspapermen. I recall very distinctly that all the wire services were represented. I believe that the United Press man was a fellow named Doc Shackelforth,¹ but I can't be completely sure of that. I don't remember the name of the INS man, and it is my very distinct impression that there was another fellow there from the Scripps-Howard or one of the other big syndicates.

I would like to go back a bit, sir, if I may.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. TALBERT. And explain what happened next.

When I first came to Tokyo, several months before, I found that my opposite number in charge of the New York Times bureau was a fellow whom I had known many years and, as a matter of fact, admired greatly as a newspaperman, Lindsay Parratt, of the New York Times.

He was my, you might say, cutthroat competitor, but we had been on very friendly terms.

As a matter of fact, when I had been ill a few weeks before in Tokyo, Lindsay had sent his wife over with a quart of orange juice to the hospital not once but on several occasions, and I just wanted to make clear that we were on a personally friendly basis.

A short time later, other personnel of the New York Times began arriving, and among these was a newspaperman named Charles Grutzner.

To the best of my knowledge I had never known Grutzner at any time before. I recall vaguely having seen him somewhere before, perhaps on an assignment in New York, but I am quite sure we had never talked or known each other personally.

Grutzner, shortly after his arrival, approached me and asked me if I would have dinner with him, which I did at the Tokyo Press Club.

¹ See telegrams at end of Talbert testimony, p. 1569.

I think we had dinner on one other occasion. Then, as was the custom in the Far Eastern theater, he went to Korea.

I would like to explain that the usual procedure was for a correspondent, because of the extremely rough conditions in Korea, to go up to the front in Korea for perhaps a week or 10 days and then come back to Tokyo to recuperate strength and get some good food, and then go over again, so that there was a constant shuttling back and forth between Tokyo and Seoul and the front line, all over the front line, of personnel of all the services.

I recall, just before going to Korea myself on this trip on which I saw the F-86's, I recall very distinctly asking Lindsay Parratt, "What's happened to Charlie Grutzner?"

And Lindsey told me, in some embarrassment, that Grutzner was having some difficulties. He said that Grutzner felt that he had been promised that he could come home by Christmas and, as a matter of fact, had insisted that the Times had made this promise to him before he left for the Far Eastern theater. He said that he, that is, Lindsay Parratt, had no knowledge of any such agreement and that he had asked Grutzner to go back to Korea and that any such promise had to be worked out between Grutzner and whoever had made the promise back in New York.

When I got to Korea I was living in the press billets, which was also the center of the war room and the briefing room and the Army teletype, which was the usual method of sending messages back to Tokyo.

A very few correspondents lived in a hotel there, the only really decent hotel in Seoul, which was called the Chosen Hotel. And Grutzner was living there.

There were daily briefings at the press billets in the room adjoining the place where most of the correspondents slept, and I very seldom, in fact never, recall seeing Grutzner at any of these briefings, except one.

On this occasion he seemed in a very depressed state of mind and, as a matter of fact, mentioned this matter of him going home by Christmas. He also said that he had received a cable from the New York Times something to the effect that the Herald Tribune "is beating you on stories." And that he had replied that he wanted to come home, and I recall very distinctly that he said he added in this message, "I'm no Homer Bigart."

I also recall very distinctly hearing from other correspondents that Grutzner was in a very depressed state of mind and, as a matter of fact, very seldom went out of the Chosen Hotel.

On this particular morning when we were going out to Kimpo Airfield, upon seeing that Bill Bernard and I were not going to have an exclusive, that all the wire services were represented, I suddenly, for some reason, thought of Grutzner and I frankly felt very sorry for him in his situation and I recall saying to the person who was in charge of this little convoy: "You got everybody else in the act, why don't we get Grutzner out here?"

Well, they were willing to do this and the convoy, after it left the press billets, went to the Chosen Hotel. I personally went into the Chosen Hotel, got Grutzner out of bed and told him, "You better get dressed and be outside in less than 10 minutes," because we were not going to wait for him.

Grutzner asked what the reason was and I said, "It's a story that has to do with the arrival of F-86's and all the wire services are going to have it. I will have it. It certainly is going to be a page 1, possibly the lead story, if we can break the story."

Grutzner didn't ask any further questions, got dressed, came out, and joined the convoy.

We then proceeded to Kimpo Airfield. At Kimpo Airfield we immediately went into the press tent, which was under the control of Capt. Sanky Trimble.

I had the story fairly well in mind, I mean about the Fourth Fighter Group and who was in command and so forth, and the other correspondents began questioning Sanky Trimble, who was there to answer such questions and who gave them all the information which they needed.

There was no formal briefing, however, at this time. It was simply a matter of question and answer.

We went outside and watched the F-86's take off, then proceed toward the Yalu.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you told at that time what their mission was? What they sought to accomplish?

Mr. TALBERT. The statement was made that they hoped to clobber the enemy. At this time the details of the mission, and at no previous time, were the details, the specific details, revealed. I later learned the full details of this mission from my—I mean, after I got back from Korea, I later learned the full details of the mission and, as a matter of fact, have discussed them on many occasions with Colonel Meyer, who as a matter of fact served as my best man when I got married.

So we watched the F-86's go toward the Yalu border. I remember very distinctly that the F-86's, which is their specific characteristic at low altitude, leave a very greasy tail of smoke, and I recall remarking: "I hope the enemy doesn't notice that."

They proceeded out of sight toward the Yalu and we then sat down to amuse ourselves. We waited, I would estimate, perhaps 4 hours there on the field at Kimpo, waiting for the F-86's to come back.

Finally, they did come back, it's my recollection, in the early or perhaps the midafternoon. One of the F-86's did a victory roll over the field, which meant to my knowledge that he thought he had scored a victory over the enemy, and all of us were elated because we thought this meant we might be able to release the story.

As soon as all the F-86's had landed, the pilots proceeded immediately to the intelligence office, to the briefing office, and also to the interrogation office for a full interrogation by intelligence.

We were there for perhaps 5 minutes when the chief intelligence officer said, "I would appreciate it if all the correspondents would leave," which we immediately did and went back to Captain Trimble's tent.

We waited there, I would estimate, for perhaps an hour or an hour and a half. It may have been longer; I wasn't particularly watching my watch. And I recall that Captain Trimble left the tent several times to check and see what was going on and came back and said, "They're still talking."

Finally he came back with a rather sad expression and said, "I have got bad news for you fellows, you can't release the story."

The CHAIRMAN. Now, who was present in the tent?

Mr. TALBERT. Every correspondent who had made this trip. That included Bill Bernard, Grutzner, the UP man, if he was Bill Shackelforth,¹ and anyone else who was in this convoy. We were all there.

I said, "Why not?" because I had seen this victory roll and I recalled that several weeks before I had been allowed to release a story of the F-84's as soon as they had distinctly been in combat, and Captain Trimble said, "It is the very definite feeling of intelligence that the combat or the encounter which took place was of such a fleeting nature that the element of surprise, which is part of our tactical plan, is still with us."

He said, "We feel it is an 80 to 20 chance that the enemy definitely does not know that there are F-86's in the theater," and he said, "Furthermore, we have specifically checked this with General Stratemeyer's headquarters and General Stratemeyer concurs very strongly."

The CHAIRMAN. Concurs very strongly in what?

Mr. TALBERT. In the decision of intelligence not to release the fact to the newspapers or I should say rather not to allow the newspapers to break the story.

I said, "Sank, I don't doubt your word in any way, but I would like personally to talk to General Stratemeyer, if possible," and Sank said, "I will be glad to arrange that for you."

He then called General Stratemeyer's headquarters on the telephone. After some conversation, which I didn't hear, he turned to me and I was in this group of correspondents who were there in the tent and he said, "I can't get General Stratemeyer or his chief of staff but I have got General William Nuchols here on the telephone."

I also was personally acquainted with General Nuchols—as I don't recall whether I mentioned, but I also was personally acquainted with General Stratemeyer—and I felt sure he would give me the straight thinking on this matter.

I got on the telephone immediately and heard General Nuchols' voice and I said, "Bill, is this true, that you wish to hold the story that we are out here on?"

And he said, "Yes; I have just talked to General Stratemeyer on this matter and he feels extremely strongly on this." He said, "General Stratemeyer, as a matter of fact, has never made a specific request of the correspondents to hold up a story before; he has relied on their good judgment and their word of honor that they would check any questionable material—by questionable, I meant material involving security—with the officers in charge of intelligence and public relations, and on this matter he is 100 percent in accord with the feeling of intelligence that this story should be held."

He also said that General Stratemeyer had felt so strongly about this that he was willing to take steps to suppress the story if the correspondents did not go along on it, and he also said that the entire operation had been classified by Washington as top secret and he did not feel that General Stratemeyer could release it even if he wanted to without checking Washington.

I said, "Well, that's good enough for me." And I said, "However, some of us have put in considerable time on this story and have been

¹ See telegrams at end of Talbert's testimony, p. 1569.

sitting on it for some time, and I feel it is only fair that if we pledge ourselves not to, in any way, release this story, I would like your personal promise that we will be informed, not as organizations but as individuals."

My reason for saying that was, as I think I mentioned before, that the custom was frequently to go up to the front. Sometimes you got back very late at night and messages from time to time didn't reach you, sometimes for 12, 14, and sometimes 24 hours.

Bill said, "I will agree to that." And I said, "Well, you tell Sanky Trimble, too."

He talked to Sanky and Sanky said to us all, "I understand the arrangement and I personally will see that you all are informed when and if it is possible to release this story."

We then got in our jeeps and went back to Seoul. I had no other story to get off at that particular time that was of any urgent nature, and I recall going out to dinner with Clarence Rhee, who was the Chief of Information of the Korean Government. I later checked by the Chosen Hotel and then started on my way home, I believe, about 11 o'clock at night.

There was a curfew, as I recall, either at 9 or 10 o'clock, and all GI's and all Koreans were supposed to be off the streets by that hour.

I also should mention that recently, that is, within 2 or 3 weeks before this incident occurred—perhaps not that long; my recollection is that it was about 10 days before this—a commercial wireless office had opened there in Seoul, and it was possible to send for the first time commercial wireless messages from Seoul directly to the United States.

I believe that I have mentioned—

The CHAIRMAN. Were they sent in English or in code?

Mr. TALBERT. They were sent in pure English, just like any other wireless message. It was a commercial outfit, not a military outfit. My recollection was, it was Press Wireless.

Senator JENNER. You weren't allowed to use the military outfit to send messages?

Mr. TALBERT. Yes, sir; we were allowed to use the Army teletype, which worked from the press billets where most of us were living, into Radio Tokyo in Tokyo. However, we had been cautioned, not once but on a great many occasions, not to use this teletype, because it was felt that it might not be secure, that it was not a coding instrument, and that an enemy operator or an enemy agent might very easily tap this wire without anyone's knowing it. This had been expressed a great many times, and as a matter of fact, I recall very distinctly that Russell Brines, the chief of the AP, had instructed all AP men not to use this under any circumstances for messages involving anything that had to do with security.

I also recall that a few days later, when General Walker was killed in an accident at the front, a British correspondent who did use this teletype to send a message on General Walker's death was put under arrest.

The CHAIRMAN. Why?

Mr. TALBERT. Well, for violating the Army regulation not to use it.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the reason for it?

Mr. TALBERT. Because the enemy might well get messages which were sent over this teletype. The only safe way to send messages

back which was completely secure was to put them in a pouch and send them back by courier, which I believe was frequently done—in fact, I know it was done on a number of occasions by the Herald Tribune correspondent over there.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, did the Army want you to send messages over the wires?

Mr. TALBERT. No, sir. That had also been brought out, that if the teletype was insecure the wireless was ten or a hundred times more insecure.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, the messages sent over that wireless were available to the enemy intelligence?

Mr. TALBERT. Were potentially available to the enemy intelligence. It was almost certain that the enemy was monitoring all messages, including military messages. That is a common procedure with all armies. And it was assumed that there was probably a monitoring station in Vladivostok, also one in North Korea, and that Russian submarines in the sea upon surfacing could easily monitor any message.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. TALBERT. I believe I have recounted my movements from the time that we got back to about 11 o'clock on the night of, as I recall, the 17th of December. As I was walking home to the press billets, which I believe were about a mile or a mile and a half from the Chosen Hotel, I recall deciding to go down to this new wireless office and send some messages to my fiancee, and also to my parents, whom I had not written to for a long time.

This was one of the reasons why this had been set up. They had this usual procedure there where you could send either a night letter at a very low rate, or you could send messages where you picked a number and the number came off the card—in other words, birthday greetings, and so forth.

I recall that night very well, because I recall it was snowing very lightly and the snowflakes were falling, and the streets of Seoul were covered with a light film of snow.

Just about when I reached the Press Wireless office, I saw another correspondent, another person, I should say, ahead of me. He was just mounting the steps going into this building. As we went into the building I recognized Charlie Grutzner of the Times, whom I think I mentioned was on this story with me and with Bill Bernard and the rest of the correspondents earlier that day.

I said, "Hello, Charlie. What are you doing up this late?"

He said—to my great amazement—"I have decided to move that story."

Well, that completely astonished me. It jolted me about as much as if Grutzner had said, "I am on my way downtown to assassinate President Rhee," because we had a very distinct, clear agreement as to how this story was to be handled, there had been no discussion whatsoever of any variation of this agreement.

Senator JENNER. There were also distinct orders not to use this commercial wireless?

Mr. TALBERT. Yes, sir; that had been stressed many times also in connection with the teletype.

I recall very distinctly telling Grutzner I was not going to file a story myself.

I also have a recollection of some discussions as to what possible benefit this would be.

I left out one important detail. Grutzner, when he saw my look of astonishment, said, "Don't worry, I put a hold on this; they won't release this until they hear from me."

Well, I didn't have much confidence in this, because I couldn't see any reason for moving the story, and I frankly was in a sort of mental turmoil.

I went over to the side to write my own personal message, and I saw Grutzner hand this copy to the person who was on duty there. I then saw him leave the building. I went over to this fellow in charge of the office there, and I said, "Did my friend who was just in here file something with you?"

And he said, "Yes."

I then began to think about what I should do. Frankly, my first impulse, since sending a story of this kind by commercial wireless would be the equivalent of broadcasting it from the Seoul radio station—my first impulse was to sit down and write a story of my own.

It was then about 11 o'clock at night, which would be about 9 a. m.—in other words, 9 o'clock in the morning of the same day in New York, since Seoul was 14 hours ahead of New York time. And I had plenty of time to write a story, file it, and make the early bird edition of the New York Herald Tribune, which I believe is the first of the morning papers to hit the streets.

I never really seriously considered this, however, because I had given my word that I would not break the story, and I felt that I was still bound by it in spite of the fact that it was broken by somebody else.

I did, however, feel that I should send some sort of a message to my office informing them that I had an important story that I was sitting on. And I sat down and wrote a message of about 20 words—I recall very distinctly writing this and rewriting it perhaps four times, because I felt that, No. 1, I wanted to send something that if checked with the Air Force in Washington after any story which the Times had was broken, might at least be intelligible, and at the same time I felt that I could not under any circumstances mention the F-86's, the 4th Fighter Group, any personnel, or even the fact that American aircraft had been in action.

I finally wrote such a message, which I have here. Should I read it?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir; read it.

Mr. TALBERT. I wrote a message which I felt would, if read by anybody who did not specifically know the story, suggest Russian aircraft or Communist aircraft, or conceivably the MIG-15, which had just made its appearance a few days before. This was sent to the foreign editor, Herald Tribune, New York. It read:

Have story world's fastest jet fighter in action over Korea but Air Force says Washington refuses release. Can bureau do nothing query?

And it is signed "Talbert."

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Talbert, wouldn't that be noticed by the enemy if they were monitoring that wireless? Wouldn't that be notice to an enemy intelligence agent?

Mr. TALBERT. It might be notice, Senator, but it certainly would have not conceivably given them—if they had Grutzner's story it

would not have given them anything which they did not already know.

On thinking the thing over as I wrote it, I realized that monitoring was certainly not a matter of 15 minutes on and 15 minutes off. I also felt certain that as this message was worded, as I have already pointed out, it could well have referred to a new type of Russian fighter. I didn't say anything about an American fighter being in action.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you think that if—you say monitoring is not 15 minutes on and 15 minutes off—if they had monitored Mr. Grutzner's story wouldn't your story have been confirmation?

Mr. TALBERT. With all the details of a 1,500-word story and names, personnel, the fighter outfit in question, and every other detail, I don't think they would have needed any confirmation, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, sir.

Mr. TALBERT. I then went back to the press billets in a considerable state of agitation, intending to take this up with the Air Force as soon as possible.

I went to bed after reaching the press billets and finding no one around whom I could talk to, and I had no idea how to reach anyone such as Col. Cecil Scott, who was in charge of public relations in the former Fifth Air Force.

Very early the next morning, a few hours later, my recollection was it was 6:30 in the morning, I was suddenly wakened by Bill Bernard, the fellow who had been on this story with me on the first occasion, when we dug up this F-86 story out at Kimpo about a week before. He shook me and awakened me, and his first words were, "That so-and-so Grutzner doublecrossed us all. The AP has just gotten a rocket on the story that we have all been holding."

I jumped out of bed and called Grutzner on the telephone and I said, "Your story is the lead story in the Times this morning, what have you got to say about that?"

Grutzner kept repeating something to the effect, "I didn't mean to doublecross you fellows," and so forth.

I was extremely interested to find out what exactly had happened. And I immediately then called General Stratemeyer's headquarters. This time I was able to get General Stratemeyer in person, and I said, "General, most of us," I said—"a group of correspondents has been sitting on a story about the F-86, we were promised specifically by the Air Force that this story when releasable would be released to us personally." And I said, "somebody"—somehow the story had gotten out, I did not go into details, because for all I knew somebody had released the story, in fact I had no knowledge but what somebody in Washington had released it or announced it.

General Stratemeyer said, "I don't know how this happened, but I am going to make a personal investigation, because I regard this as one of the greatest security breaches of the war." He said, "If any military personnel are found involved in this I will see that they are summarily court-martialed." And he said, "I am going to conduct this investigation personally."

I then went back to the press billets, and I went up to the briefing room, and Colonel Scott was there in person.

I should mention that there were signs pasted around the cor-

respondents' room which said that "Neither telephone nor wire should be used to transmit a hold story about the F-86 to Tokyo for future release." That was to keep the story and all its details bottled up there.

The CHAIRMAN. Where was that?

Mr. TALBERT. That was in the press billets where we lived and where there also was a briefing room, and where also, let us say, the head of the teletype, the Korean end of the Army teletype, was located, so that you could write a story there, you could sleep there, you could attend a briefing there, and you could also give your copy to an operator.

I then sat down and wrote a complete report of what had happened to the New York Herald Tribune, and then followed it up by writing a story that General Stratemeyer was conducting an investigation, with some of the details which I had already related, plus the fact that the story had not been broken by any of the wire services.

I received a wire from Frank Kelley, who was then the foreign editor of the New York Herald Tribune, which was sent by way of Press Wireless, and it was dated December 18, which was the day—in other words, the day which we had been to Kimpo Airfield to watch the 86's go into action.

Should I read this wire?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. TALBERT. It was addressed to me personally at PIO GHQ FEC. and it said:

Use your Stratemeyer piece for Tuesday stop appreciate you kept the faith and did not break the release regards Kelley.

I never saw Grutzner after that incident, to the best of my knowledge, from then until now, except on one occasion I was passing the Times and I believe I saw him coming out the door.

I have discussed this matter with Col. Cecil Scott, who was the 5th Air Force PIO, and I believe is now on duty in Washington; I have discussed it with General Stratemeyer; and I have discussed it with Col. John C. Meyer on a number of occasions.

About a year ago I ran into Austin Stevens of the New York Times—it may have been a little longer. We were on the same assignment, and somehow this matter of the release came up, and I remember discussing it with Austin Stevens. And Austin Stevens said, "You know, that story actually was released by somebody in the Pentagon, it came in on a weekend, and I checked it with the Pentagon and I got a release in about 20 minutes." He said, "I had no idea of any security on the other side involved. There was nothing in the story to indicate that. And the story was just handled as a routine story coming back from Korea."

That is about the story, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Talbert, did Mr. Grutzner at any time give you or offer to give you a black sheet, that is, a carbon copy of his story with regard to this matter?

Mr. TALBERT. No, sir, he at no time offered or suggested giving me a carbon copy. As a matter of fact, he had never heard of this story until the morning we went out on that day, December 17, to see the F-86's go off. He was certainly not an expert on aeronautical

matters. And I had been covering aviation and some military news for a number of years previous to this incident. It would have been rather ridiculous if he had done so. I want to repeat, he had never done it, and never did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did Mr. Grutzner urge you to file this story?

Mr. TALBERT. No, sir, he did not urge me to file the story, he simply confronted me with the fact that—as I say, as we walked into this wireless station, he suddenly confronted me with the fact that he had written the story and was going to file it at that moment. He never made any suggestions as to what I should do about this matter. And as I have already said, there had been no previous discussion of any kind relating to how the story was to be handled, except the pledge which we had made to Sanky Trimble and General Nuckols, in return for an Air Force pledge to notify us all about this story when it was releasable.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you and Mr. Grutzner and the AP man and the UP man have any agreement about filing this story with a hold or for clearance in Washington, or in any other way?

Mr. TALBERT. No, sir; we specifically had not made such an agreement. As a matter of fact, we had been specifically told not to. And I had the distinct impression when we left the tent that everyone was abiding by that agreement; there was no further discussion after my telephone call to General Nuckols, which was confirmed on the spot by Captain Trimble, and which everyone assented to there in the press tent at Kimpo Airfield. There was no discussion of any kind to my knowledge after that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Talbert, Mr. Grutzner has testified that the AP and the UP men filed the story to their Tokyo offices for relay to the mainland of the United States. Do you have any knowledge with regard to that?

Mr. TALBERT. No, sir, I have no knowledge whatsoever. And I think it is rather unlikely, in view of the fact that Bill Bernard, of the AP, who wrote the story, was in a great state of agitation, and, I might say, anger, when he woke me up a few hours after Grutzner had put this story on press release—or at the wire release, I should say.

Mr. SOURWINE. You say "who wrote the story." What do you mean by that?

Mr. TALBERT. He was the fellow who was on the entire deal. He was the fellow who handled the story.

Mr. SOURWINE. Had he written it, to your knowledge?

Mr. TALBERT. I don't think so. If he had I had no knowledge of it.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have no further questions of this witness, Mr. Chairman.

Senator JENNER. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. We thank you, Mr. Talbert.

(The following telegrams relative to the Sabrejet incident were later ordered into the record by Chairman Eastland:)

NEW YORK, N. Y., July 14, 1955.

Senator JAMES O. EASTLAND,
Senate Office Building:

Following is an exact and complete copy of memorandum wired on July 8 to the New York Times by Glenn Stackhouse, the United Press correspondent who filed the Sabrejet story from Seoul to the UP bureau in Tokyo on December 17, 1950, same day Grutzner filed his to New York, subject to Pentagon clearance.

Mr. Stackhouse is now UP bureau chief in San Francisco. He is on vacation. His home phone in San Leandro, Calif., is Sweetwood 85890. Since the wired memo was not clear on what means of communication Stackhouse used on Seoul-to-Tokyo filing, Grutzner telephoned him on July 11. Stackhouse said he used telephone, as on his other stories.

Stackhouse said also that he put no restrictions on any use the Times or Grutzner might want to make of this statement—all or any part of it.

The wired memorandum follows:

"SAN LEANDRO, CALIF., July 8, 1955.

"**TURNER CATLEDGE,**

Managing Editor, Times, New York:

"Pursuant my phone conversation with Charlie Grutzner, following are somewhat hazy recollections of December 1950, Sabrejet story filed from Kimpo Airfield.

"Recall I inflying from Japan to Kimpo, arriving day Sabres first landed Korea. Talbert of Her-Trib present and possibly Bernard of Associated, but Grutzner not there. Air Force gave us background handouts on Sabres but informed story not releasable until Sabres had contacted enemy.

"Sabres made patrol first day but returned without contact whereupon I wrote and filed story to Tokyo with advisory that it must be held for release.

"Following day, date unrecallable, Grutzner, Talbert, Bernard, and self returned to Kimpo ex-Seoul to outswat second Sabre patrol. When planes returned it revealed Sabres had met enemy and Lt. Col. Bruce Hinton had shot down a MIG. We interviewed Hinton and others in flight and then were informed story still unreleasable on orders of high brass.

"As recalled this late date, I returned Seoul et filed story to Tokyo with advice they try to outrry release ex Stratemeyer's office. Was extremely unhappy with Grutzner when learned next day Times had broken story but recall off-cooled when he explained his office had secured release Washington.

"Have no recollection of any briefing at Naija billet after return ex Kimpo but could easily have attended same and forgotten. However, do well recall Grutzner living at Chosen hotel and not at correspondents' billet and therefore he probably did miss briefing if such held.

"Any assertions Grutzner guilty of security leak ridiculous in my opinion. Recall at time I grudgingly admired Times for outrrying release ex Pentagon while opposition was sitting on hands.

"Whole security thing so much hogwash since Sino Reds by that time well aware of presence of Sabres having been in combat with them. Wish memory little clearer on subject but hope this much can be of some help. Regards.

"Glen Stackhouse, United Press Associations, San Francisco."

Earnestly request you incorporate the foregoing in record of today's hearings on Sabrejet matter. Regards.

TURNER CATLEDGE,
Managing Editor, the New York Times.

JULY 14, 1955.

Hon. TURNER CATLEDGE,

Managing Editor, the New York Times,

New York, N. Y.:

Retel request granted. Regards.

JAMES O. EASTLAND, U. S. S.

NEW YORK, N. Y., July 15, 1955.

Senator JAMES O. EASTLAND,

Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

Many thanks for your including my yesterday telegram in the record. However, I learned today that Friday night, July 1st, the Associated Press passed along the following statement to our city desk from William Bernard, the Associated Press bureau chief in Dallas, who was 1 of 4 correspondents on the Sabre jet story:

"Reporters were writing their stories on first battle (involving Sabrejets) when Air Force PIO Sanky Trimble at Kimpo Airfield, Seoul, received word from Air Force Brig. Gen. Bill Nuckols, head PIO of Far East Air Force,

that Sabre story secret and not releasable. Reporters were told to send their stories in Air Force pouch to Air Force headquarters Tokyo for possible clearance later."

In order to have the record as complete as possible on Sabrejet case, I request this also be included.

TURNER CATLEDGE,
Managing Editor, the New York Times.

The CHAIRMAN. Call your next witness.

Mr. SOURWINE. Ira Henry Freeman.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give to the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate of the United States shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. FREEMAN. I do.

TESTIMONY OF IRA HENRY FREEMAN, WOODBURY,
LONG ISLAND, N. Y.

Mr. SOURWINE. Would you give the reporter your full name, please, Mr. Freeman?

Mr. FREEMAN. My name is Ira Henry Freeman.

Mr. SOURWINE. And your address, Mr. Freeman?

Mr. FREEMAN. My address is Harkaway, Woodbury, Long Island.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that it be noted that this witness is represented by Mr. Paul Porter, of Arnold, Fortas & Porter, of Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be noted in the record.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where are you employed, Mr. Freeman?

Mr. FREEMAN. I am employed at the New York Times.

Mr. SOURWINE. In what capacity?

Mr. FREEMAN. I am a reporter, sir, on the local staff.

Mr. SOURWINE. How long have you been with the Times, Mr. Freeman?

Mr. FREEMAN. Except for 2 years of war service I have been with the New York Times continuously since February 1928.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever have another job?

Mr. FREEMAN. I never had another job to mention. I had kid jobs.

Mr. SOURWINE. That has been your life work?

Mr. FREEMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Freeman, were you ever a member of the Communist Party, USA?

Mr. FREEMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Will you tell us when?

Mr. FREEMAN. I was a member of the Communist Party for approximately 1 year, beginning, to the best of my knowledge, early in 1938.

Mr. SOURWINE. And ending in 1939?

Mr. FREEMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Will you tell us in your own way how you got into the party and how and why you got out?

Mr. FREEMAN. I was recruited into the party at that time by two persons. One was Milton Kaufman, then, I believe, executive secretary of the Newspaper Guild of New York. The other person I have revealed to the committee in private session, and I explained to the

committee my reluctance to name him in public session. And I am awaiting the committee's ruling on that question.

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Chairman, you will recall that in executive session Mr. Freeman identified both of the individuals whom he testified recruited him into the Communist Party. He has named one in the public session here, and you will recall that I made the request in the executive session that he not be required to identify the second person, who is now deceased and is unable to speak for himself.

The CHAIRMAN. We will take that under advisement. The party is dead now?

Mr. PORTER. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. FREEMAN. Do you wish me to continue, Mr. Sourwine?

Mr. SOURWINE. Who is Milton Kaufman?

Mr. FREEMAN. I don't understand whether I am to name him or not.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not.

Senator JENNER. The question was, Who was Milton Kaufman? I believe the witness testified he was the secretary of the Newspaper Guild.

Mr. FREEMAN. At that time, I believe, he was the executive secretary of the Newspaper Guild of New York.

Mr. SOURWINE. Tell the story of your being recruited in the party, but since the committee is taking under advisement the question of whether you need to name the other person you may simply refer to him as the other person who recruited you.

Mr. FREEMAN. Yes, sir.

It was one night after a guild meeting, as I now remember, when Milton Kaufman and this other person went out with Mrs. Freeman—Mrs. Beatrice Freeman, my wife, who was also a member of the Newspaper Guild, having formerly been a newspaper reporter—and I for a drink. And in the cafe, Milton Kaufman and this other person talked to us earnestly about joining the Communist Party, with which they said they believed we substantially agreed, and which they described as the leading influence, by far the leading influence in the Newspaper Guild at that time.

I was a charter member of the Newspaper Guild, and of course am still a member, since its organization in 1933. I would say that at that time that was my leading outside interest. I was sincerely interested in organizing the Newspaper Guild, at least under the New York Times. And I was willing to get any help that I could.

I think that was the primary consideration that moved me to be favorable toward Kaufman's urgings.

However, at that time we told Kaufman and this other person that we wanted to talk it over between ourselves and think of it, and would tell him later.

A few days later, perhaps a week later, we decided to give it a whirl, although I had some reservations as to what we would find inside this thing. But I went to this other person and told him we would join.

The CHAIRMAN. Told him "we" would join?

Mr. FREEMAN. Yes, sir. I am referring to Mrs. Freeman and myself.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Mr. FREEMAN. And he filled out application cards, which we signed, as I now remember, with some fictitious name made up for the moment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you named the year that this was, Mr. Freeman?

Mr. FREEMAN. To the best of my knowledge, Mr. Sourwine, this was early in 1938.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right; go ahead.

Mr. FREEMAN. That is how I came to join it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. FREEMAN. I don't remember what else you asked me to do now.

Mr. SOURWINE. I also wanted to know when and how you got out of the party.

Mr. FREEMAN. Oh, I am sorry.

I went to 3 to 6 meetings, I think. It was difficult for me to go in the first place. The meetings were held beginning about 6 o'clock on week nights—working nights—at the home of 1 member or another, or not at the home of a member, it was just at an apartment, occupied by I do not know whom.

I was working normally until about 11 o'clock at night in those days, and the only way in which I could go at all when I wished and had time was to rush down on the subway to wherever the meeting was, stop in for half an hour, and rush on out to my night assignment, go back to the office, going without supper in order to do this.

I think after about a year I had been to, possibly at the most, a half a dozen of these meetings. The whole thing seemed to me to be inept and futile. The discussions which I heard there—the party line—I either knew before or it seemed to me dull and fruitless, and far from helping me in the organization of the guild, actually, it hampered me. It occurred to me that everything I did to organize the unit I could have done without being a Communist Party member, and I was now under a burden of a secret that I must now be careful of what I said lest I betray myself. If the employer found out about it, he probably could discharge me without the guild being able to prevent it.

And, lastly, I think I ought to mention that Milton Kaufman and I didn't get along very well in a personal way, and I didn't like to be his boy, as I now felt that I was.

So I stopped going.

Mr. SOURWINE. When you went to the first Communist meeting that you went to was Milton Kaufman there?

Mr. FREEMAN. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he attend any of the meetings you went to?

Mr. FREEMAN. I have a memory of him appearing at only one meeting which I attended.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does that raise any question in your mind when you went to the meeting and he wasn't there?

Mr. FREEMAN. No; I did not think I expected him to be at the meeting of every unit in the Newspaper Guild.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you remember an incident that you related in executive session with regard to some persons being members at large and others being in the unit?

Mr. FREEMAN. Yes; I did. That involves this delicate question that the committee is still considering.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am not asking you to name a person now. We know there was another person.

Mr. FREEMAN. Do you want me to relate the incident?

Mr. SOURWINE. Without naming the person; yes, sir.

Mr. FREEMAN. Yes, sir; I can do that.

One other person whom the committee knows had revealed himself to me as a member of the Communist Party. He was never at a meeting, and I went to him after the very first one and said, "I didn't see you at the meeting."

And he said, "No; I don't go to meetings."

And I said, "Why not?"

And he gave me to understand that he was a member at large—I say that, but I don't know whether those were the words, but that is the sense of it. I don't know whether they were called members at large or not, but that is a sufficient and accurate description, I believe. That is to say, that he belonged to the party but he did not belong to the unit and did not go to any meetings.

When I asked why, he said that some persons, including himself, were regarded as too important or in too sensitive a position to be exposed in this way, that they had other work.

I must say I resented this and asked why I was not a member at large. And he frankly told me, because I wasn't important enough. And I suppose that is true.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Freeman, how many persons were there in this unit; do you know?

Mr. FREEMAN. No, sir; I didn't know, because I didn't keep the rolls.

Mr. SOURWINE. How many persons would attend a meeting?

Mr. FREEMAN. When I was present I would see from six to a dozen.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, was it always the same 6 or 12 people, or did they change?

Mr. FREEMAN. My memory is that it was frequently different.

Mr. SOURWINE.. Presumably someone would come one time and some another time?

Mr. FREEMAN. I suppose so. Perhaps some would come after I left.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was this unit composed entirely of employees of the New York Times?

Mr. FREEMAN. As far as I know, sir, with the exception of my own wife, who was not employed by anyone, it was.

Could I clarify it with an additional statement, please?

Mr. SOURWINE. Surely.

Mr. FREEMAN. We had been calling it the New York Times unit of the Communist Party, and that is true, I guess. But I think it gives rise to a certain misleading inference which some people might have which in fairness to the Times I should be allowed to state.

Mr. SOURWINE. Surely.

Mr. FREEMAN. The New York Times is the largest newspaper in the world, and has now about 5,000 employees, and at that time only slightly less. And my memory is that this was by no means a cross-section of that. I told the committee in executive session, and would repeat now, that, at this very first meeting, I was very disappointed

and chagrined to notice that I did not know one person when I walked in. And there was certainly no one at that meeting from the editorial department except myself.

The CHAIRMAN. Who set the unit up there? Was it the guild?

Mr. FREEMAN. I don't know that, sir. I was not a charter member of the Communist Party unit, and I just don't know; I have no answer.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Freeman, can you identify, as having been known to you as Communists, any persons other than the 2 who recruited you, of which Mr. Kaufman was 1? You have named 2 persons, Kaufman was 1 of them. Aside from those two persons, what other persons were known to you to be Communists?

Mr. FREEMAN. I have named three.

The CHAIRMAN. He named his wife.

Mr. SOURWINE. I understand.

Mr. FREEMAN. I cannot state, under oath, of my own knowledge, that I know any of the persons who were members of the Communist Party at the time that I was. They told me they were Communists whom I saw at the meeting, which I suppose would be presumptive.

Mr. SOURWINE. When you left the Communist Party in 1938 did you do anything to evidence your leaving?

Mr. FREEMAN. I did not, sir, except tell Milton Kaufman for one that I sure had it.

Senator JENNER. You stopped paying dues; didn't you?

Mr. FREEMAN. Yes. My only qualification is that I doubt whether I paid dues regularly during the year. When they caught me I paid something, so to speak. And there was no formal resignation, certainly, and no written statement, or even a verbal one, except to Kaufman. I didn't see that this was getting anywhere, and it was not assisting either the guild or me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you remember any persons who attended these Communist unit meetings other than yourself and your wife?

Mr. FREEMAN. No, sir; I can't say under oath definitely that I can remember who was there at any one time.

Would I be permitted just one additional word?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. FREEMAN. I wanted the committee to just have in mind that these were not my friends or daily associates. I have explained that, to the best of my recollection, they did not work in the editorial department, I didn't see them socially after work. I must have seen them in the guild unit, although my memory is now that all were not members of the guild. Some were members of the mechanical union, the pressmen, and custodial employees, and I would not see them.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever attend a meeting of the Communist Party other than this meeting of the New York Times unit?

Mr. FREEMAN. I can remember for sure only one, a meeting of the so-called Communist fraction, an open meeting, which is to say a meeting of Communist Party members of the Newspaper Guild and some other sympathizers, fellow travelers, or trusted persons, friends of party members who would be invited to the meeting. To the best of my recollection that was at the Roosevelt Hotel. And again I stopped in for half an hour.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you recall any persons who were at that meeting?

Mr. FREEMAN. I remember Milton Kaufman on the platform. I believe he was presiding. And I remember one party functionary, not a newspaperman, whose name I do not recall, who made a speech about how successful they were in the fur workers.

Mr. SOURWINE. You recall no one else?

Mr. FREEMAN. No, sir; I do not.

Senator JENNER. How many were in attendance at the time you were there?

Mr. FREEMAN. Possibly 50 persons.

Senator JENNER. Not knowing anyone else, would you assume they were other newspaper unit members—in other words, was there a group meeting of the various—

Mr. FREEMAN. I don't say that I did not know anyone else, it is just that I cannot tell you now who was there and who was not. But I must have known some of them.

Senator JENNER. Were they newspaper personnel?

Mr. FREEMAN. Yes; as I understand it, all were newspaper personnel from newspapers and news magazines, if any, in New York City, those Communist Party members within the Newspaper Guild.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Freeman, did you ever teach at a Communist school?

Mr. FREEMAN. Sir, I taught classes—but I would not say I taught at a Communist school.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever teach at the League of American Writers?

Mr. FREEMAN. I taught labor journalism, to the best of my knowledge, 2 terms of about 10 weeks each at the writers—at the writers' school of the League of American Writers.

Mr. SOURWINE. You say 2 terms. Were they both in the same year?

Mr. FREEMAN. I don't—I don't remember whether they were both in the same year.

Mr. SOURWINE. After you left the Communist Party—was it 1938 or 1939?

Mr. FREEMAN. That is hard to say. Either it was very late in 1938 or early in 1939.

Mr. SOURWINE. It was before the Hitler-Stalin pact then, was it?

Mr. FREEMAN. Oh, yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. And after you left the Communist Party did you ever have any connection with it at all?

Mr. FREEMAN. With the Communist Party?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. FREEMAN. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you go to any Communist meetings?

Mr. FREEMAN. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did not associate with Communists?

Mr. FREEMAN. Not persons known to be Communists.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes. And you did not—

Mr. FREEMAN. And except—I must have associated with Milton Kaufman.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, you were active in the guild, and he was.

Mr. FREEMAN. It was impossible not to associate with him and remain in the Newspaper Guild.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, I would like to place the time, if you can, when you taught in the League of American Writers. Can you place that as to year or years?

Mr. FREEMAN. Since we had our executive session I have been banging my head against the wall trying to find out—trying to remember.

I don't know whether I should guess. I would think I taught a term in 1939.

Mr. SOURWINE. That would be the summer of 1939?

Mr. FREEMAN. No, sir, there was nothing in the summer.

Mr. SOURWINE. In the fall?

Mr. FREEMAN. I should think it would be the spring term of 1939.

Mr. SOURWINE. The spring term?

Mr. FREEMAN. I think it was the spring term.

Mr. SOURWINE. And did you teach in 1940?

Mr. FREEMAN. I don't remember. I have no recollection teaching in 1940.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you sure it was while you were a member of the Communist Party that you taught at that school?

Mr. FREEMAN. I am not sure. I may have taught a term after I quit. As a matter of fact, I rather think I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know the League of American Writers was a subversive organization?

Mr. FREEMAN. I didn't know it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know it had been cited by Attorney General Francis Biddle, who said the League of American Writers "is generally regarded as a Communist subsidiary"—no. He said:

The League of American Writers, founded under Communist auspices in 1935, in 1939 began openly to follow the Communist line as dictated by the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. The overall activities of the League of American Writers in the last 2 years leave little doubt of its Communist control.

Did you know that?

Mr. FREEMAN. I don't think that the Attorney General stigmatizes the American League of Writers as a subversive organization. The time I taught school, no. I know now—

Mr. SOURWINE. I am quoting his statement of September 24, 1942.

Mr. FREEMAN. Well, I was surely out of that by that time.

Mr. SOURWINE. No; I am asking you if you know now.

Mr. FREEMAN. I know it now, sure.

Mr. SOURWINE. He said in 1942 that in 1939 it began openly to follow the Communist line. Did you know that Mr. Harold Ickes in a letter to Robert Morss Lovett in April 1941 had quoted the State Department as follows:

The League of American Writers is generally regarded as a Communist subsidiary. Its policies, of course, always parallel those of the Communist Party.

Mr. FREEMAN. I didn't know that until now.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know that the League of American Writers had been cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities on January 3, 1940?

Mr. FREEMAN. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you teach at the League of American Writers school after January 1940?

Mr. FREEMAN. As I—I think I answered that question before. I don't remember whether I taught there in 1940 or not.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am going to send to you, sir, photostats of two newspaper pages. One is from the Daily Worker of New York, Wednesday, October 23, 1940. The other is from the Sunday Worker, New York, September 15, 1940.

They both contain articles which are marked. The article in the Daily Worker has the head, "Workshop Course in Journalism at Writers School," and it starts out:

Volunteers, students, and others in social work interested in publicity techniques, journalism, and interpretation have an opportunity of receiving instruction and clinical experience through a course in journalism and publicity being conducted by the Writers' School of the League of American Writers.

The school is conducted at the league's headquarters, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York City, Ira Henry Freeman, reporter and rewriterman on the staff of the New York Times since 1928 is conducting the journalism and publicity course for the second successive year.

The article in the Worker for Sunday has the head, "Courses for New Writers Announced," and the final paragraph says:

Among the classes to be held at the school beginning with the week and running for 10 weeks are: Creative Short Story, Myra Page; Commercial Short Story Writing, Mary Elting; Pulp and Confession Writing, Jean Karsavina; Adventure Story Writing, Robert Carse; Detective and Thriller, William Rollins, Jr.; Playwriting, Barrie Stavis; History of the Novel, Edwin Seaver; Journalism and Publicity, Ira Henry Freeman—

and so on.

I would like to ask you if you would look at these, sir, and see if they refresh your memory as to when you taught at that school.

Mr. FREEMAN (after consulting articles). You want my answer now?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes, sir.

Mr. FREEMAN. I still don't have a better recollection, but I am not going to dispute any documents or evidence. If you would permit me to make a brief word of clarification, that is, without disputing the documents:

I taught the technique, as I think is indicated there, of journalism there—such a course as I later taught at City College.

Mr. SOURWINE. When was it you taught at City College?

Mr. FREEMAN. What year? 19—1952, I believe, or 1953, perhaps.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know, Mr. Freeman, that there were any known Communists connected with the course at the Writers School?

Mr. FREEMAN. Connected with my course?

Mr. SOURWINE. Connected with the courses at the Writers School. I will put it that way.

Mr. FREEMAN. Did I know there were known Communists—connected in the teaching of courses, perhaps?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes, sir.

Mr. FREEMAN. To the best of my knowledge now, I did not know that any teacher in the school was a Communist—nor did I care, frankly.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know whether Dashiell Hammett was connected with that school at all?

Mr. FREEMAN. Yes, sir; he was. I don't know whether he was connected with the school. He was connected with the League of American Writers, surely.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was he a Communist?

Mr. FREEMAN. I don't know. He has been well-known—

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Richard Wright was connected with the school?

Mr. FREEMAN. I didn't know he was connected with the school but he was connected with the League of American Writers.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know he was a Communist?

Mr. FREEMAN. All I know about him is what he had in his auto-biographical article and his book in which I think he confesses to communism. I didn't know it at that time, however, which I think is the point to be stressed here.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Myra Page was connected with the school?

Mr. FREEMAN. I have a memory of Myra Page being listed as a teacher at the school.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know she was a Communist?

Mr. FREEMAN. I didn't know her, much less if she was a Communist. I didn't know her to be a Communist, nor do I remember knowing her.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know she was a writer in the Communist press?

Mr. FREEMAN. No, sir; I didn't read the Communist press very much, I am afraid.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Edwin Seaver was connected with the school?

Mr. FREEMAN. I remember the name as being connected with the League of American Writers, not with the school.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know he was a Communist?

Mr. FREEMAN. I didn't know of my own knowledge, although I do have a memory of seeing his byline occasionally in leftwing publications.

Mr. SOURWINE. You know he wrote for the Daily Worker?

Mr. FREEMAN. I must have known that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know that 381 Fourth Avenue was the address of the Communist Party of New York State and of the International Publishers, the Communist publishers?

Mr. FREEMAN. That is an office building, and it may be that is the address.

Senator JENNER. Mr. Freeman, back to this meeting you spoke of where there were about 50 people present—

Mr. FREEMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator JENNER. Now, I am sure you can help this committee. I am not going to ask you whether you knew there were Communists at this meeting, but would you name some of the people? You have been with the newspapers for a long time, and you must know, out of 50 people, some of the people at that meeting. Will you tell us who was there?

Mr. FREEMAN. I think I must have known someone there—

Senator JENNER. Could you tell this committee the name of someone?

Mr. FREEMAN. But I can't do that for sure now, sir, and I am under oath, and it is important, and unless I know for sure now who was there—

Senator JENNER. Now, let's—

Mr. FREEMAN. I could not say.

Senator JENNER. You started with the New York Times what year?

Mr. FREEMAN. February 1928.

Senator JENNER. 1928. Now, this was 1938 or 1939, and by that time, 1938 or 1939, you had been working in the newspaper business 10 years, with the New York Times. Therefore, you must know a lot of newspaper people in New York. And there were 50 people in this meeting—and you cannot tell this committee. I do not want to ask you to identify them as Communists—just who was present.

Mr. FREEMAN. I understand your question, sir, and I don't deny I must have known someone there. But to swear now who was there and who was not, I cannot do.

Senator EASTLAND. You are saying you don't remember, is that it?

Mr. FREEMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator EASTLAND. Well, it appears that you could remember—you can remember the meeting?

Mr. FREEMAN. I remember.

Senator EASTLAND. You remember where it was held?

Mr. FREEMAN. It was at the Hotel Roosevelt.

Senator EASTLAND. And about 50 people were there—and you can't remember one of them?

Mr. FREEMAN. I can't remember well enough, sir, to swear to it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, Mr. Freeman, returning for a moment to the school, to the Writers School of the League of American Writers—

Mr. FREEMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. 1940 was during the Hitler-Stalin Pact. Did you know at that time that the League of American Writers was openly supporting the Hitler-Stalin Pact?

Mr. FREEMAN. I did not know that the League of American Writers was openly supporting the Hitler-Stalin Pact, and in any case, I, as a teacher of labor journalism in the Writers School, I am not even sure I was a member of the League of American Writers. Even if I were listed, it would be because they listed every—certainly, I was not concerned with their policy, I didn't form it, I don't remember attending a meeting, I was never an officer—

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you a paid teacher in this school?

Mr. FREEMAN. Oh, yes, sir. I got half the fee and the school got the other half, and I taught no communism or anything else.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, you stated that you taught at City College and you taught at the Writers School.

Mr. FREEMAN. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where else have you taught?

Mr. FREEMAN. As far as I can remember, I taught labor journalism again in one other place.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where?

Mr. FREEMAN. Commonwealth College at Media, Ark., in the summer of 1937.

Mr. SOURWINE. Just the one term?

Mr. FREEMAN. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Commonwealth College to be a Communist school?

Mr. FREEMAN. I didn't know it at that time, and I don't believe it was at that time.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know it has since then been cited as a Communist school?

Mr. FREEMAN. It has since then been cited on the Attorney General's subversive list, is all I know.

Mr. SOURWINE. It was cited by Attorney General Tom Clark in a letter to the Loyalty Review Board released April 27, 1949, and sometime before that it was cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities of the House, March 29, 1944.

Mr. FREEMAN. The only point, if you will permit me, that I want to make about that is that I was there during the summer of 1937 and it seemed to me that it was not run by the Communist Party for Communist purposes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, that leads into my next question.

Mr. FREEMAN. All right.

Mr. SOURWINE. I was going to ask you if you know any persons there as Communists.

Mr. FREEMAN. I knew—I can name one, a guest lecturer who came from Oklahoma for perhaps a week.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who was that?

Mr. FREEMAN. Robert Wood, whom I told the committee about at private session.

Mr. SOURWINE. Robert Wood was a Communist organizer in Oklahoma?

Mr. FREEMAN. A State organizer for Oklahoma. He was a guest lecturer for a few days or a week.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know that during an Arkansas legislative committee investigation of Commonwealth College back in 1935, Lucian Koch, the director of Commonwealth College, had admitted rejecting capitalism and believing that the Soviet Government was superior to the Government of the United States?

Mr. FREEMAN. No, sir; I don't think I knew Lucian Koch.

Mr. SOURWINE. He was not the director when you were there?

Mr. FREEMAN. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who was?

Mr. FREEMAN. The Presbyterian minister, Rev. Claude Williams.

Senator EASTLAND. Why did you—how did you secure employment at Commonwealth College?

Mr. FREEMAN. "Employment" is a big word, sir. I did teach there, and I guess you can say I was employed—but I got my maintenance and \$4 a month. However, I got that job by writing a letter to the—to the school.

Senator EASTLAND. Why did you write the school?

Mr. FREEMAN. I wanted to go to Arkansas to establish a residence to get a divorce from my first wife.

Senator JENNER. Whom did you give as reference? Did you give Milton Kaufman as reference?

Mr. FREEMAN. I had—I don't think it was Milton Kaufman.

Senator JENNER. Whom did you give as reference?

Mr. FREEMAN. There was a reference from the Newspaper Guild—an official. Now, who it was—

Mr. SOURWINE. Could it have been Milton Kaufman?

Mr. FREEMAN. It could have been, but I don't think so. I think he was a higher officer.

Senator JENNER. Could it have been the person you have not named today?

Mr. FREEMAN. No.

Senator EASTLAND. Well, why did you select Commonwealth College? There are other schools in Arkansas. Now, why did you select that school?

Mr. FREEMAN. Well, frankly, to me it seemed an interesting place. It was a cooperative farm-labor school, but, as I understood then—and I have been insisting—I saw no reason to change my mind during my residence there—it was what was called in those days a united-front school; that is, they would accept Communists or non-Communists who were united against totalitarianism throughout the world, and for labor organization in the domestic scene, and the students must be referred by a legitimate trade union.

We maintained the school by our own labor, insofar as it was possible. Students came from many parts of the United States and even some places abroad.

And they were interesting—the courses were interesting; the discussions were interesting; even the people were interesting.

Senator EASTLAND. Now, where did you hear and from what sources did you learn of Commonwealth College?

Mr. FREEMAN. Well, that is a funny story. I read a smear about Commonwealth College in a Hearst magazine—I can't remember what it is now—and reading between the lines, disregarding the smear, it appeared to me this was an interesting place, just as I have described.

Senator EASTLAND. Now, as a matter of fact, you knew Commonwealth College was then a notorious Communist school, didn't you, Mr. Freeman?

Mr. FREEMAN. No, sir; I did not. No, sir; I did not; and while I was there it did not function as a notorious Communist college at all.

I remember numerous discussions on all Communist questions with as many people against it as for it. I would say they were all more or less leftwing, certainly.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Freeman, your wife is the former Beatrice Oppenheim?

Mr. FREEMAN. My present wife is the former Beatrice Oppenheim.

Mr. SOURWINE. She was a feature writer on the Brooklyn Eagle up to March 1937?

Mr. FREEMAN. I don't know the date. She used to be a teacher and a reporter—and editor, I think, of the Brooklyn Eagle.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Oppenheim—

Mr. FREEMAN. My name is Freeman.

Mr. SOURWINE. I beg your pardon, Mr. Freeman. Have you had any conferences with any members of the Communist Party known to you to be such within the last few years?

Mr. FREEMAN. Known to be—with in the last few years?

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Freeman—

Mr. FREEMAN. I—

Mr. SOURWINE. I am sorry.

Mr. FREEMAN. I say, "No, sir," with the possible exception of on duty as a reporter for the Times or perhaps for the Brooklyn Eagle; I don't remember that but that could have happened.

Mr. SOURWINE. I just want to cover briefly your Army experience, sir, before we close.

Mr. FREEMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were drafted into the Army in 1943?

Mr. FREEMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You went into the Cavalry School at Fort Riley, Kans.?

Mr. FREEMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Then after a brief time you became a staff writer on Yank magazine?

Mr. FREEMAN. Sir, that period didn't seem brief to me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, how long were you in the Army?

Mr. FREEMAN. I was 17 weeks in the horse cavalry and then I was reprieved and made a staff writer and editor for Yank, the Army weekly.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you advanced—

Mr. FREEMAN. And was discharged honorably—or, it would be in—by golly, I think it was Christmas Eve of 1945 or close to it.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you finished the war as a sergeant?

Mr. FREEMAN. No, sir; I only made corporal. Next war I will be a sergeant, though.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. No further questions.

Senator JENNER (presiding). All right, there being no further questions, the committee will stand in recess.

Mr. PORTER. Is Mr. Freeman finally excused, Mr. Chairman?

Senator JENNER. Yes.

(Thereupon, at 12:20 p. m., the subcommittee adjourned.)

A P P E N D I X

Following is an exchange of telegrams between Chairman Eastland and Ralph B. Novak regarding the possibility of a hearing for the American Newspaper Guild:

NEW YORK, July 20, 1955.

Senator JAMES O. EASTLAND,
Chairman, Senate Internal Security Subcommittee,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

Testimony submitted to your committee seems to have left the totally false impression in the minds of the public and those employed in the newspaper industry that the policies of the American Newspaper Guild today are still being influenced by Communist Party members and fellow travelers. Attempts being made by the press to tie today's policies to those prior to 1941 are malicious and do great damage. The American Newspaper Guild in 1941 eliminated all vestiges of Communist influence from its national administration, and the New York local did the same shortly thereafter. In order to clear the record and in the interest of the truth, on behalf of the American Newspaper Guild, I respectfully request that its record on the Communist question be presented to the public through the submission of a statement or through direct testimony to your committee. The method of presentation I leave to you and your committee. However, I believe we must and should be heard. Your prompt consideration of this request would be appreciated not only by me but all newspapermen throughout the country.

RALPH B. NOVAK,
Executive Vice President, the American Newspaper Guild.

WASHINGTON, July 21, 1955.

Mr. RALPH B. NOVAK,
Executive Vice President, the American Newspaper Guild,
New York, N. Y.:

Reurtel Senate Internal Security Subcommittee is not investigating the press or radio-TV or the fourth estate or newspapermen or newspapers or the Newspaper Guild. This has been repeatedly stated. We are investigating communism. The subcommittee has made no charges against nor cast any slurs upon the American Newspaper Guild. However if you and your fellow officials of the guild desire, notwithstanding the above, to testify publicly under oath respecting your anticomunism and think the Internal Security Subcommittee should provide a forum for such testimony, I believe the committee should grant your request. Am instructing Committee Counsel J. G. Sourwine to arrange hearing earliest mutually convenient date if you and your colleagues decide upon reflection this is what you want. In view of your reference to "false impression in the minds of the public," am releasing full text of your telegram and this reply.

Sincerely,

JAMES O. EASTLAND,
Chairman, Internal Security Subcommittee.

NEW YORK, N. Y., July 27, 1955.

Senator JAMES O. EASTLAND,
Chairman, Senate Internal Security Subcommittee,
Washington, D. C.:

Thanks very much for your telegram of July 21, particularly gratifying and heartening were your statements that the "Senate Internal Security Subcommittee is not investigating the press or radio or TV or the fourth estate or newspapermen or newspapers or the Newspaper Guild" and "the subcommittee has made no charges against nor cast any slurs upon the American Newspaper Guild." In making public the text of my telegram of the 20th and your reply of the 21st you have done everything possible to eliminate any false impressions in the minds of the public. It is evident what false impressions remain, and there should be none, are certainly not attributable to your committee and its actions, but rather to weaknesses in our mass communications systems. Your telegram publicly setting the record straight makes it entirely unnecessary for us to make use of your generous offer to permit us to testify, thanks for your assistance and consideration. Sincerely.

RALPH B. NOVAK.

Executive Vice President, the American Newspaper Guild.

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NOTE.—The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee attaches no significance to the mere fact of the appearance of the name of an individual or an organization in this index.

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